Ptolemy I Soter

A SELF-MADE MAN



Edited by
Timothy Howe

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A Self-Made Man



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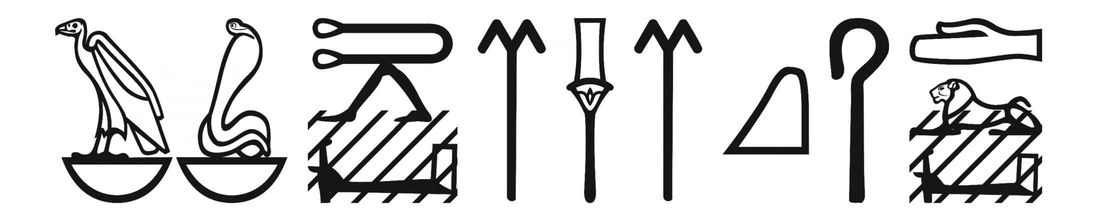
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Foreword



He who has seized with (his own) power the ruler of Tjaru[1]

—Two Ladies Name of Ptolemy I

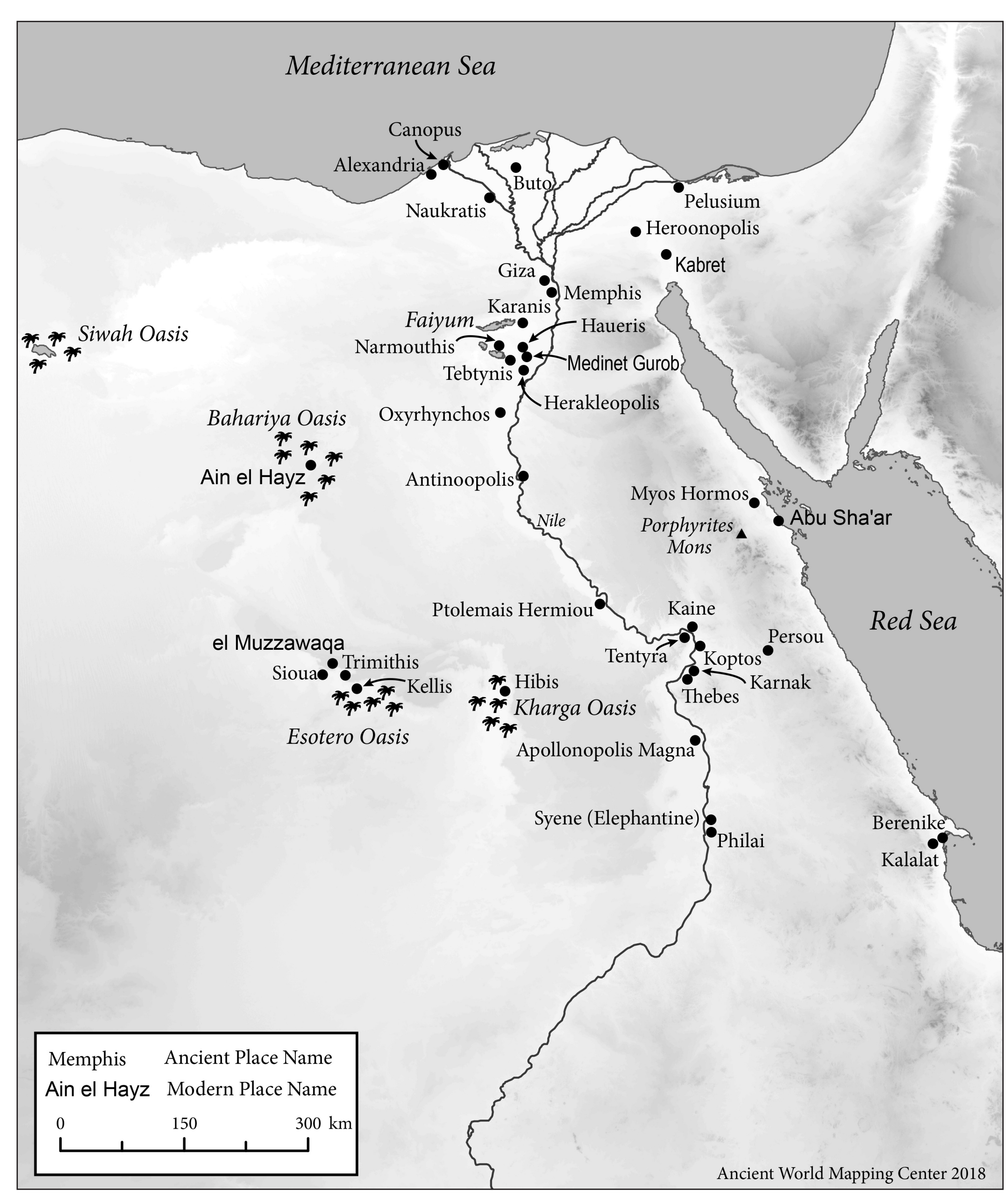
This claim by Ptolemy I Soter encapsulates what he wished the world to know—Ptolemy was a "self-made" man. Unlike other famous companions of Alexander the Great, such as Perdikkas, Krateros, and Hephaistion, or even his fellow Successors, such as Antigonos Monopthalmos, Kassandros and Seleukos, Ptolemy took pains to make himself a king, to create his own opportunities and, most sigificantly, to let the world know that he had done so. Early in the chaos following Alexander's death, for example, Ptolemy had the sagacity and courage to hijack Alexander's corpse and then publicize the fact that it had become his dynastic symbol. Likewise, he embraced his position as Egyptian pharaoh and deployed the millennia-old royal traditions of Egypt to craft a public persona across the spaces of "old" Egypt as well as his capital, the newly built city of Alexandria. More significantly, though, Ptolemy also wrote his own history, the first Greco-Macedonian royal to our knowledge to do so. In the pages of his History of Alexander's Campaigns, Ptolemy had a *tabula rasa* on which to construct a self-portrait characterized by military courage and deep friendship with the (by then) world-famous Alexander. As the papers collected in this volume will argue, Ptolemy's own opportunism facilitated continuous acts of self-creation in a variety of spheres—literary, numismatic, religious, artistic, political and dynastic. Although the studies here are the product of diverse methods and evidence, and each offers a different perspective and focuses on different aspects of Ptolemy's self-creation, all agree that the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty invested heavily in establishing and legitimating his power and its perceptions among his subjects and allies.

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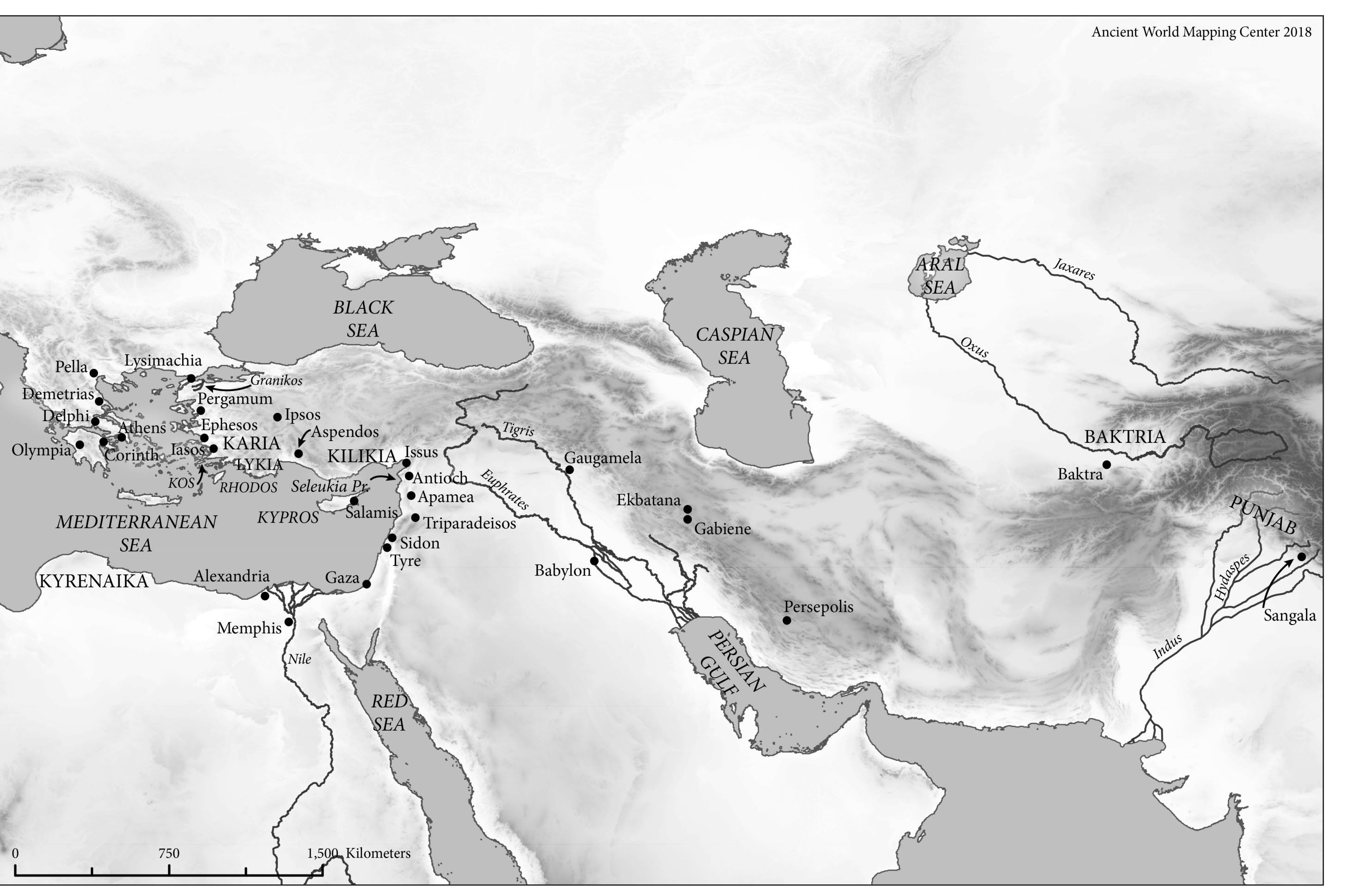
[1] An important New Kingdom city near the later Hellenistic fortress of Pelusium. Tjaru guarded the ancient "Way of Horus," the military road into (and out of) Egypt. See Howe, this volume for further discussion.

At this point, it is necessary to say a word about editorial choices. I decided to include bibliographies with each chapter, rather than synthesize them into a common list at the end. While this did allow for a (small) amount of duplication, I felt this was outweighed by the fact that each chapter could stand as a complete article, with the references close to hand. Following this theme, I also chose not to impose a "house" style for Latinizing (or not) ancient names, and so there is some variation throughout. While these variations have resulted in a lighter editorial footprint than some might have wished, I hope that readers will, in general, approve.

Northfield, Minnesota
June, 2018



Map of Hellenistic Egypt



Map of Hellenistic Kingdoms

Chapter 1

Ptolemy: A Man of His Own Making

Waldemar Heckel

Had Ptolemy son of Lagos died in 324 BCE, as Hephaistion did, it is safe to say that he would be virtually unknown to us;[1] for not only would he never have obtained the satrapy of Egypt, which was assigned (most will say awarded) to him after Alexander's death, and converted it into his personal kingdom, but he would not have written his *History of Alexander*[2] which preserved almost everything that we know – and, certainly, what he wanted us to know – about his military service. His career[3] does not fit the pattern of many of the great marshals such as Leonnatos, Perdikkas, or Krateros, even though he came to rival, outlive and outdo them all. Leonnatos was a sprinter, dashing and brilliant, and like Alexander destined to die young.[4] Perdikkas, a lesson in the perils of *polypragmosyne*, was the victim, if not (directly) of Ptolemy's sword, of the man's pen.[5] Krateros, soldier and patriot, lacked the talent for statesmanship.[6] Ptolemy, by contrast, was a man who emerged from the shadows, the tortoise rather

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1 Seibert's observation (1969, 46: "Natürlich wären unsere Kenntnisse von Ptolemaios ohne sein Werk dürftiger und weitaus ungesicherter") is an understatement.

2 Jacoby, *FGrH* 138; also Auberger 316–65, with French translation. The title of the work is unknown, and the majority of the 34 fragments come directly from Arrian. See Strasburger 1934; Kornemann 1935; Pearson 1960, 188–211; Pédech 1984, 215–22; also Howe 2008, 2015.

3 See Heckel 2006, 235–38 s.v. "Ptolemy [6]" and 2016, 230–39; Berve 1926, 329–35 no. 668; Volkmann, *RE* XXIII (1959) 1603 ff. no. 18; Bevan 1927, 1–55; Seibert 1969; Ellis 1984; Worthington 2016. Further literature in Seibert 1983, 222–24.

4 Except for omitting his role in bringing the Hermolaos conspiracy to light (Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.7), Ptolemy is rather generous in his treatment of Leonnatos, unless we regard the mention of his disfavor on account of his mocking of proskynesis (Arr. *Anab.* 4.12.2) as critical. Perhaps, after his premature death – Leonnatos was one of the first of the Successors to die – Ptolemy had no reason to malign him; he may even have genuinely liked the man.

5 Ptolemy's bias and his treatment of his political/military rivals: Errington 1969 and Roisman 1984, both treating a long-recognized aspect of the *History* in an extended and systematic fashion.

6 For Leonnatos, Krateros and Perdikkas see Heckel 2016, 107–84.

than the hare, cautious and restrained,[7] skilled in policy and propaganda. But, whereas the second half of his life is well attested in extant works thought to derive from Hieronymos of Kardia,[8] evidence for his early years is primarily autobiographical.

Family

The father was undistinguished. Indeed, the name Lagos does not occur outside the family in this period.[9] The obscurity is alluded to in an anecdote from Plutarch's *De cohibenda ira*:

> Ptolemy, as he was making fun of a scholar for his ignorance, asked him who the father of Peleus was. And he replied, "I will tell you, if you first tell me [the name of] Lagos' father." This jest touched upon the low birth of the king.[10]

Some regard the identity of the Ptolemy in this passage – he is referred to as *basileus* in the following sentence – as uncertain, but it must be Soter. Nevertheless, the matter is hardly worth debating, since the story is most likely apocryphal and in line with other anecdotes about ill-advised responses given to Alexander's Successors by "intellectuals" – not always with impunity.[11] Later attempts to elevate the son's status were based on claims that the mother, Arsinoë, belonged to a branch of the Makedonian royal house or even that Ptolemy's biological father was none other than Philip II.[12] Arsinoë, so the story goes, was already carrying Philip's child when she was given in marriage to Lagos.[13] But these stories surfaced long after Alexander's

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7 For this particular quality (*moderatio, epieikeia*), see Yardley *et al.* 2011, 151.

8 Jacoby, *FGrH* 153. Diodorus 18–20, whose primary source may have been Hieronymos (Hornblower 1981 bases her analysis of his work almost entirely on the text of Diodorus; but see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, XII-XXIV), appears to have made use of a pro-Ptolemaic source, although the identity of its author is unknown. See also Seibert 1983, 2–9.

9 The only examples in Tataki 1988 come from this one family: the father of Ptolemy and Menelaos, and Ptolemy's son by Thaïs. On the name see also Hoffmann 1906, 154 (Λά-αγος = leader of the people); cf. Bevan 1927, 20.

10 Plut. *De cohibenda ira* 9 = *Mor.* 458a–b: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ γραμματικὸν εἰς ἀμαθίαν ἐπισκώπτων ἠρώτησε τίς ὁ τοῦ Πηλέως πατὴρ ἦν. κἀκεῖνος, "ἂν σὺ πρότερον εἴπῃς," ἔφη, "τίς ὁ τοῦ Λάγου." τὸ δὲ σκῶμμα τῆς δυσγενείας ἥπτετο τοῦ βασιλέως.

11 Cf. the cases of Sotades of Maroneia and Theokritos the sophist. The former, a *kinaidologos*, insulted both Lysimachos (Athen. 14.616c) and Ptolemy Philadelphos, and in the second instance was punished by being placed in a leaden jar and sunk into the deep by Ptolemy's admiral, Patroklos (Athen. 14.620f–621a). The latter insulted Antigonos the One-Eyed, making reference to his handicap, and was punished by death (Plut. *De lib. educ.* 11a–c; cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 7.3.12; also Teodorsson 1990).

12 Such a relationship would, of course, have made his planned marriage to Alexander's sister Kleopatra (Diod. 20.37.3–6) incestuous (Collins 1997, 440 with n.15).

13 Ptolemy's alleged illegitimacy: Paus. 1.6.2, 8; Curt. 9.8.22; Aelian, frg. 285; *Suda* s.v. Λάγος; Collins 1997; Ogden 1999, 67–8. On Ptolemaic claims to descent from Philip II see also Ellis 1994, 3; Satyrus, frg. 21 = *FHG* III, 165; Theocritus 17.26, with Gow II, 331; Curt. 9.8.22; Dittenberger, *OGIS* I, 54, line 6; cf. also Wilcken, *RE* II (1896) 1281 s.v. "Arsinoë (24)." See also the rather convoluted arguments of Tarn 1933, 57–61. A full discussion of the "birth myths" of Ptolemy, linking him with Philip II and Zeus, and thus also with Alexander, is provided by Ogden 2013. If Ps.-Lucian, *Macrob.* 12 is correct in placing his birth in 367/6, the story about Philip and Arsinoë is more difficult, though not impossible, to accept. For the view that the Successors chose to emphasize connections

death and perhaps not even during Ptolemy's lifetime. Whether he wrote his *History* soon after Alexander's death with the aim of discrediting his political enemies, as some have proposed,[14] or if the work was composed late in his own life, it is striking that he identified himself by the patronymic Λάγου at least eighteen times – hardly what one would expect from someone who regarded his paternity as a handicap.[15] If Ptolemy publicly acknowledged Philip II as his father, this must have come either before or after he had so adamantly avowed Lagos in the *History*. And, if he did so before the work was written, why did he change his mind and embrace Lagos once again? The answer must be that he himself never claimed an Argead father.[16]

Ptolemy's early career

Nor did Ptolemy himself show exceptional promise. Born in 367/6 BCE,[17] his military and political resume was thin in comparison with many of the king's men. The first attested command – if the Ptolemy mentioned by Arrian (*Anab.* 3.18.9) is in fact the son of Lagos[18] – came in late 331 BCE at the Persian Gates and at a time when he was roughly thirty-six years old. Even then it was a relatively minor role, omitted by other historians or, to put it another way, included only in Ptolemy's own *History.* Justin's description of him as a man whom Alexander had "promoted from the ranks for his personal qualities" indicates the long, slow road to prominence.[19] That is not a denial of merit, as the words *virtutis causa* make clear, but merit alone rarely sufficed in a world of aristocratic privilege. Hence, whatever social drawbacks might have

with Philip rather than Alexander see Errington 1976, 155–6; but his arguments are challenged by Meeus 2009.

[14] Errington 1969, 241–41. *Contra* Heckel 1984, 5: "his history, although clearly biased against certain individuals, exhibits a certain pettiness (perhaps the 'sour grapes' of old age?) rather than the sting of effective propaganda." Ptolemy was thus like Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the famous conquistador who wrote a detailed history of the conquest of New Spain, at least partly from memory, in his old age (see Thomas 2000, 52–4; Bosworth 1996, 35).

[15] Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.8; 3.6.5; 3.29.7; 4.8.9; 4.13.7; 4.15.8; 4.16.2; 4.21.4; 4.23.3; 4.24.3, 8, 10; 4.29.1; 5.23.7; 6.5.6; 6.11.8; 6.28.4; 7.15.3 (the examples have been adduced by Seibert 1969, 8. Ptolemy's frequent use of the patronymic is noted by Collins 1997, 445. The fact that he named one of his children Lagos is also significant.

[16] If there is any truth to Arsinoë's connections with the Argeadai (Satyrus, frg. 21, Müller, *FHG* III, p. 164), it would have been superfluous to disavow Lagos, not to mention disrespectful to his mother.

[17] Ps.-Lucian, *Macrob.* 12.

[18] Strasburger 1934, 35; Kornemann 1935, 60; Heckel 1980, 169 n.7; Howe 2015, 181 n.47. Seibert 1969, 8–10 argues, on the basis of Arrian's omission of the patronymic, that the Ptolemy at the Persian Gates was not the son of Lagos, but the only other plausible candidate would be the commander of the Thrakians (Heckel 2006, 235 s.v. "Ptolemy [4]"; *pace* Seibert 1969, 9). Bosworth I, 328–29 is rightly sceptical; cf. Atkinson II, 93. Seibert 1985, 104 n.14 restates his earlier views. Full discussion in Howe 2015. Speck 2002, 188–89 and Moritani 2014, 128 show that, even if the role of Ptolemy is debatable, the description of the defense of the wall is consistent with the topography.

[19] Justin 13.4.10. Cf. Appian's description of Seleukos as στρατιώτης. App. *Syr.* 55 [283]: λέγεται δ' αὐτῷ, στρατιώτῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι ὄντι καὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἑπομένῳ. Beloch IV^2 2.176 admits that there is some truth in Justin's description but denies the implications: "wenn Iustin. XIII 4,10 von Ptolemaeos sagt, daß Alexander ihn *ex gregario milite virtutis causa provexerat*, so ist das insofern richtig, als Ptolemaeos wirklich bei Beginn des asiatischen Feldzuges sich noch in untergeordneter Stellung befand und infolgedessen während der ersten Kriegsjahre niemals erwähnt wird."

retarded Ptolemy's career (and perhaps there was a rumor of illegitimacy[20]), they were not insurmountable. In autumn of 330 BCE, he was appointed a member of the *Somatophylakes* – a position of some importance, to judge by the majority of the holders of the office – in place of Demetrios who had been cashiered, and presumably executed, for conspiring against the king.[21] The appointment was significant, and one of which Ptolemy was inordinately proud. But we must bear in mind that not all *Somatophylakes* had particularly distinguished careers.[22]

Why Ptolemy was promoted to *Somatophylax* in 331 BCE is unclear. Except for his debatable role at the Persian Gates,[23] he had held no independent command up to this point. The *somatophylakia* may have had, at least in the early stages, regional representation, but if so there is no detectable basis for the distribution of positions: Ptolemy, Aristonous, and Peithon were all from Eordaia.[24] On the other hand, membership in the unit seems not to have been based, initially, on a record of military service.[25] Thus, if military record and regional origin were not deciding factors, it is best to assume that a personal relationship with the king came into consideration. For it was to the *Somatophylakes* that the king entrusted his personal safety.[26]

This brings us to Ptolemy's historical début. Plutarch in his account of the Pixodaros affair says that Alexander's *hetairoi* incited him to meddle in Philip II's negotiations with the Karian dynast. It was Pixodaros' intention to give his daughter, Ada, in marriage to Alexander's mentally incompetent half-brother Arrhidaios. The consequent disruption of these negotiations, which had offered Philip a promising alliance for his upcoming Persian expedition, drew the king's ire and resulted in the banishment of the prince's

[20] The solution to the problem may have been the invention of a reputable biological father.

[21] Curt. 6.11.37–38 suggests that Demetrios was one of those executed for involvement in the conspiracy; Arr. *Anab.* 3.27.5 says only that he was replaced by Ptolemy. Hamilton's attempt (1973, 95) to reconcile the two versions is pure fantasy: "Demetrius, when accused of complicity in the 'plot' of Philotas, stoutly denied the charge and Alexander accepted his denial. Evidence of his guilt is clearly lacking. Nevertheless, soon after, Demetrius was removed from his position as Bodyguard and vanishes from our records."

[22] For Alexander's *Somatophylakes* and the individuals who held the office see Heckel 1992, 259–79. The office could limit the individual to functions at the court (as was the case with Aristonous and, perhaps, Peithon) or act as a springboard to military command (Leonnatos, Hephaistion, Perdikkas, and later Ptolemy and Lysimachos).

[23] He commanded 3,000 troops (Arr. *Anab.* 3.18.9). Worthington 2016, 39: "it is unlikely that the king would entrust him with several thousand troops for such a vital role…."

[24] Arr. 6.28.4 (Ptolemy and Peithon were from Eordaia; Aristonous from Pella); Arr. *Ind.* 18.5 (Ptolemy and Aristonous were from Eordia; Peithon was from Alkomenai). Makedonians described as Πελλαῖος were often from elsewhere but raised at the king's court in Pella. Perdikkas was from Orestis, Leonnatos Lynkestis; the regional origins of Hephaistion and Lysimachos are unknown.

[25] The military achievements of Leonnatos and Hephaistion, before their appointments, were limited; Perdikkas alone is an exception. Lysimachos is not mentioned in a military context until 326 BCE, and Aristonous and Peithon are absent from the accounts of the actual campaigns. Similarly, little is known of the earlier *Somatophylakes*, Arybbas, Balakros, and Menes. In fact, those who were known to have been added to the group of the Seven all had personal connections with the king. I have not yet come across a good argument against my view that Lysimachos, Aristonous, and Peithon were appointed in the reign of Philip II (Heckel 1992, 259).

[26] There is no evidence for how and why these individuals were promoted, and one wonders whether members of the unit provided family members as hostages for their loyal service.

hetairoi – Harpalos, Nearchos, Ptolemy, and the brothers Eriygios and Laomedon.[27] Their relationship with Alexander has led most modern scholars to regard them as "boyhood friends," coeval with the prince himself. As a result, many have felt compelled to dismiss the evidence of Ps.-Lucian concerning the year of Ptolemy's birth.[28] There arose a persistent myth – and scholarly myths are by far the hardest to dispel – that Ptolemy, like Hephaistion, Leonnatos, Marsyas, and others, was brought up at court as a *syntrophos* of Alexander. Hence, Bouché-Leclercq writes: "C'est là, dans cette pépinière de fonctionnaires et d'officiers, qu'il eut l'occasion de mériter l'amitié et la confiance d'Alexandre."[29] The *hetairoi* of Alexander in 337 BCE should not be mistaken for those personal friends who were his strict contemporaries. I have argued this point previously and repeat here only the most salient points.[30] Firstly, what evidence we have for the ages of the members of this group suggests that they were older than the prince himself. Erigyios is the obvious example. Curtius' description of his duel with the Persian satrap Satibarzanes shows that he was advanced in years:

> Erigyios found the barbarian general's display of bravado intolerable. Though well advanced in age, Erigyios was not to be ranked second to any of the younger men in courage or agility. He took off his helmet and revealed his white hair.
>
> *Non tulit ferociam barbari ducis Erigyius, gravis quidem aetate, sed et animi et corporis robore nulli iuvenum postferendus. Is galea dempta canitiem ostentans* (Curt. 7.4.34).

This *monomachia*, in which Erigyios prevailed occurred in 330/329 BCE, and it is safe to assume, even on the most conservative estimate, that the man was well over forty at the time. Laomedon is thus more likely to have been closer in age to his brother than to Alexander; his linguistic skills, mentioned by Arrian (*Anab.* 3.6.5: δίγλωσσος ἦν [ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα]), were probably honed as a young man in Mytilene before the family took up residence in Amphipolis in the 350s or 340s BCE. In all likelihood, he was at least fifteen years older than Alexander.[31] Nearchos too may have come from Crete to Amphipolis as an adult. He became a close friend of Antigonos the One-Eyed, and served as one of the older advisers of Demetrios Poliorketes in 312 BCE, together with Philip, Peithon son of Agenor, and Andronikos of Olynthos, all described as ἄνδρας πρεσβυτέρους (Diod. 19.69.1). Although he was experienced in naval matters, he does not appear amongst the commanders of Demetrios in the accounts of the battle of Salamis in 306 BCE, where his expertise might have been

[27] Plut. *Alex.* 10.5; Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.5 adds Laomedon, who is not mentioned by Plutarch. For the sons of Larichos see Heckel 2016, 315–18. For the significance of the Pixodaros affair see, most recently, Heckel *et al.* 2017, 100–3, and Ager (in this volume).

[28] Notably Berve II, 330, following Beloch III 2.126. But Jacoby, *FGrH* IIB "Kommentar" 498: "der zweifel von Beloch ... und Berve ... ist meines erachtens unbegründet"; Bagnall, *Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilization* 732 s.v. "Ptolemy I"; Dorothy J. Thompson, *OCD*^{3} 1271.

[29] Bouché-Leclercq 1903, 1.3; cf. Bevan 1927, 21.

[30] Heckel 1985 and 1992, 205–8.

[31] See Heckel 2006, 146; neither Berve 1926, 231–32 no. 463 nor Papastavru 1936, 88–92 no. 50 comment on his year of birth. An inscription recording honors conferred at Priene (late 3th/early 3rd century) on an adult son named Larichos after the grandfather is of little help, since we do not know the son's age.

put to use. Perhaps old age accounts for his absence; but maybe he had already died by then. At any rate, Philip's anger with Alexander's *hetairoi* was probably due to the fact that they had not advised the prince appropriately.

Ptolemy, if we accept the evidence of Ps.-Lucian for his age, must have entered the ranks of the Pages (*paides basilikoi*) in 354/3 BCE, when Alexander was between two and three years old. By 349/8 BCE he had reached military age, but whatever service he provided did not draw the attention of any of the historians of Philip or Alexander. For reasons unstated, he was assigned by Philip to act as one of the advisers of the young prince.[32] The service that Ptolemy and the other *hetairoi* provided – despite Philip's disapproval – was rewarded later in Alexander's reign. Arrian (*Anab.* 3.6.5), based on Ptolemy's own *History*, says: "On Philip's death those who had been banished on Alexander's account returned and Ptolemy was appointed one of the bodyguards"[33] (τελευτήσαντος δὲ Φιλίππου κατελθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὅσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἔφευγον Πτολεμαῖον μὲν σωματοφύλακα κατέστησε). This is, of course, misleading, since five years transpired between Philip's death and Ptolemy's appointment as *Somatophylax.* But it is probably not wrong to see the appointment as a reward for loyalty and service in the past. What, then, might explain why Ptolemy did not hold any important military office in the intervening period?[34] He was clearly a late-bloomer who achieved a measure of prominence only in his late thirties.

A possible explanation of Ptolemy's slow advancement may be that, when Alexander acceded to the throne, the chief commands in the army were controlled by men appointed – in some cases, fairly recently – by Philip II. At the time of his accession, as is generally agreed by scholars, Alexander's powers were limited and it would have been dangerous to change the command-structure of the army, which saw the members and adherents of the most powerful families holding high office. Some of them, like the family of Parmenion, may even have been given greater authority in return for their loyalty to the young king.[35] It would take time for the new king to strengthen his hold on power, and those of his friends who hoped for promotions on the basis of friendship would have to wait for opportunities to arise.[36] And, even under these conditions, there

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32 Possibly this appointment occurred in 340 BCE, when Alexander was left in charge of affairs in Pella at the age of sixteen (Plut. *Alex.* 9.1).

33 P. A. Brunt tr. (Loeb Classical Library).

34 Ian Worthington, who accepts an early birth-date for Ptolemy, declares: "By the time he was thirty, Ptolemy had seen active service in at least two campaigns *that we know about*, and he was clearly trusted by Philip and Alexander" [emphasis added]. But for his participation in the battle of Chaironeia and earlier in Chalkidike – the two campaigns that Worthington refers to – there is not one shred of evidence. What we get instead is an argument verging on circularity: "Ptolemy must have fought in this battle, given its importance and his by then." Both passages are from Worthington 2016, 23. This view of Ptolemy's career and early distinction is typical of modern scholarship; Worthington is merely the most recent proponent. In fairness to the author it must be said that Ptolemy's participation in these campaigns might be natural inference. But we cannot say – and it is almost certainly not true – that he held any meaningful command. His reputation had not yet been established, despite his age, and the biographer must resort to conjecture.

35 At the beginning of the campaign, Parmenion was Alexander's second-in-command, Philotas led the Companion Cavalry, and Nikanor commanded the hypaspists. See Heckel 2016, 44–59.

36 The execution of Philotas and the earlier death of Nikanor, followed by their father's murder eliminated

were many with stronger claims to advancement than Ptolemy. Indeed, Philip II may not have been the only senior Makedonian with misgivings about Ptolemy's reliability after the Pixodaros affair. If Lagos was a relative non-entity, there was also no political network on which Ptolemy could rely. These disadvantages, which formed obstacles to his career, were overcome by self-fashioning in a *History* that had Alexander as its main focus but aimed also at the rehabilitation of a less than spectacular career.

Ptolemy on the evidence of others

If Arrian had never written his account of Alexander, or if that work had been lost, our knowledge of Ptolemy's career before 323 BCE would be such that we would find it difficult to understand how it was that he became a major player in the age of the Successors. From sources other than Arrian, we learn that he was one of Alexander's *hetairoi* in 337 BCE (Plut. *Alex.* 10.4)[37] and later one of the *Somatophylakes* (Curt. 9.8.23), although the occasion of his appointment is not recorded. Two episodes are described that show him in the role of bodyguard (Curt. 8.1. 45, 48, where he attempts to restrain Alexander during the drinking party at Marakanda; and Curt. 8.6.22, where he and Leonnatos warn the king about the Hermolaos conspiracy).[38] The story of the burning of Persepolis names Thaïs as the courtesan of Ptolemy, who was later king (Plut. *Alex.* 38.2: ἡ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὕστερον ἑταίρα). Beyond that, we hear of activities in India, where it is said that he "captured the most cities, but Alexander the greatest ones."[39] This is the only other reference to Ptolemy's campaigns in Gandhāra described in detail by Arrian. His role in the Hydaspes battle – both his efforts to distract the attention of Poros and allow Alexander to cross the river upstream (Curt. 8.13.18–19, 23, 27) and his participation in the main battle, which the preceding account renders impossible (8.14.15) – is at odds with the other sources and contradicts information that

the "log jam" and facilitated the advancement of many of Alexander's personal friends, and this explains, at least in part, their vehement opposition to Philotas in 330 BCE (cf. Heckel 1977).

37 Hammond 1993, 16 attributes the story to Satyros, which is at best a guess. Strasburger 1934, 34 suggests Aristoboulos. It is doubtful that the full story of the Pixodaros affair came from Ptolemy, who mentioned it only in passing, in the context of Harpalos' first flight. The story may have been recorded by Marsyas of Pella in his *How Alexander was Educated*, if this is not just a portion of his *Makedonika.* On that work see Heckel 1980 and Howe's forthcoming discussion in *BNJ.*

38 Arrian's version (4.8.9), in which Kleitos is spirited away from the banquet by Ptolemy but returns on his own initiative and is subsequently killed, derives from Aristoboulos, *FGrH* 139 F29 (cf. Pownall in *BNJ*), and probably indicates that Aristoboulos' version differed from or supplemented Ptolemy's. Curt. 8.1.45, 48 depicts Ptolemy as one of the *Somatophylakes* who restrained *Alexander*. Seibert 1969, 19, notes that the episode was unflattering to both Alexander and Ptolemy and thus omitted by the latter: "Sehr wahrscheinlich führte Ptolemaios die Kleitoskatastrophe nicht an, da sie auf Alexander ein ungünstiges Licht warf, aber auch auf seine eigene Person wie die der anderen Beteiligten, da sie nach den vorliegenden Quellen die Ermordung des Kleitos hätten verhindern können." See Errington 1969, 238–9; Müller 2014a, 84. Curtius may have based his account on Kleitarchos or Timagenes, or possibly Ptolemy himself. The attempt to prevent Kleitos' murder, even if unsuccessful, may be seen as an attempt to exculpate Ptolemy. Badian 2000, 69 suggests, implausibly, that Alexander "genuinely suspected (it seems) a conspiracy by his *hetairoi* and perhaps even his guard when they tried to prevent him from killing Cleitus."

39 Curt. 8.10.21: *Ptolomaeus plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit.*

came from Ptolemy's own *History*. Arrian (*Indike* 18.5), based on the work of Nearchos, mentions Ptolemy as one of the trierarchs of the Hydaspes fleet, but this involved a monetary contribution and he is listed as one of many. Justin does not mention him at all in his abbreviation of the eleventh and twelfth books of Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae.* And Diodorus of Sicily mentions him only once (17.103.3–7), recounting how he was wounded by a poisoned arrow during the siege of Harmatelia and noting that he was thought to be a son of Philip II (cf. Curt. 9.8.20–24). This hardly constitutes an impressive dossier. But there is, at least, one clue in Curtius concerning the true nature of his career. "A member of Alexander's bodyguard and a first-rate soldier, Ptolemy was even more talented at, and better known for, the civilian rather than military skills."[40]

Ptolemy's career as he wanted it to be known

As we have seen, Ptolemy introduced himself as a military commander in his description of the battle at the Persian Gates. There he led a force that took up a position where the escaping forces of Ariobarzanes could be cut down. Other writers fail to mention this, and it is impossible to tell whether Ptolemy's command and his role in the battle were invented or thought unworthy of comment.[41] The battle at the Gates opened the road to Persepolis, where other sources say the palace was torched by the courtesan Thaïs, whom Plutarch identified as Ptolemy's mistress. This relationship is corroborated by Athenaeus, but neither the woman nor her role in the burning of Persepolis is mentioned by Arrian, most likely because Ptolemy left it out of his *History*.[42] Diodorus and Curtius, who describe the scene in detail, do not mention the relationship between Ptolemy and Thaïs. It was not the destruction of the palace that Ptolemy was suppressing, though he may have been critical of the act, which Arrian attributes to Alexander. But it was not in his interests to revive memories of his "wife" in her most licentious role as a prostitute in the Makedonian camp.[43]

Arrian does not mention Ptolemy again until the aftermath of the Philotas affair, and then only in a very brief notice. When Alexander came to the land of the Ariaspians (the so-called Euergetai) "he sacrificed to Apollo, arrested Demetrios, one

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[40] Curt. 9.8.23: *idem corporis custos promptissimusque bellator et pacis artibus quam militiae maior et clarior; modico civilique cultu, liberalis imprimis adituque facili, nihil ex fastu regiae assumpserat.* The passage was written after 305, when Ptolemy took the title of king.

[41] But see Howe 2015, 184: "Ptolemy is not claiming a command which did not exist, he is rather embellishing the quality of his forces and their role in achieving the Macedonian victory. Notice that for this digression on his heroism Ptolemy reports that 'most of the barbarians were cut down by these [Ptolemy's forces] in close fighting…'."

[42] Athen. 13.576e. She bore Ptolemy three children: two sons, Leontiskos and Lagos, and a daughter named Eirene, who later married Eunostos of Soloi.

[43] That Ptolemy actually married Thaïs is debatable, but the Harpalos affair demonstrates the degree of attachment that could exist between a prominent man and a courtesan. Her past must certainly have been an embarrassment to her children. Ogden's suggestion (1999, 241: "Ptolemy may have welcomed her precisely because of her association with Alexander: he may have felt that the taking on of his courtesan in a vague way legitimated his own claim to rulership, almost as if he were taking on a wife of Alexander") strikes me as implausible. Why should he have chosen not to mention her in his *History*, as he appears to have done?

the bodyguards, suspecting that he had a hand in Philotas' conspiracy, and appointed as bodyguard Ptolemy son of Lagos in his place."[44] If, as suggested above, Ptolemy's promotion was based on his personal relationship with the king, it is curious that in the description of the Philotas affair there is no mention of him. He is not named among the close friends and officers who met to advise the king on this matter.[45] Since the most detailed account comes from Curtius, it is unlikely that Ptolemy's omission was intended to shield him from the charge that he benefitted from the fall of Philotas, although had it been to his credit he might have given himself a role in the affair.[46] But perhaps Ptolemy's appointment as bodyguard was not based on the man's merit but on the belief that, given his lack of accomplishment, he could be regarded as a safe choice at a time when the king was becoming distrustful of his officers.[47]

In the following year, Ptolemy is thrust into the spotlight – at least in his own version of events and, perhaps, that of Aristoboulos[48] – when he was sent by Alexander to effect the extradition of the regicide Bessos. He thus takes the credit for bringing to justice Alexander's most dangerous enemy at the time.[49] It is, however, more likely that Aristoboulos omitted Ptolemy's role; for there is little point in Arrian's contrasting of Aristoboulos' report with that of Ptolemy if the MSS reading is correct. At 3.30.5 we read: Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην *Πτολεμαίῳ* ἀγαγεῖν Βῆσσον καὶ παραδοῦναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντας. Brunt translates the passage: "Aristobulus, however, says that it was the followers of Spitamenes and Dataphernes who took Bessus to Ptolemy and handed him over to Alexander naked and bound, wearing a wood collar." But, since Arrian has indicated that he accepts the historicity of an account whenever Ptolemy and Aristoboulos agree,[50] there is no point in giving the latter's version if it agreed in most of its details with that of Ptolemy. Bosworth (1980, 377) concludes that "Aristobulus seems to have an independent version, giving Ptolemy a role in the arrest but a relatively minor one. Spitamenes and his associates presented Bessus to the king; Ptolemy merely led the convoy which escorted them to the king." The participle δήσαντας is surely problematical, since it

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44 Arr. *Anab.* 3.27.5.

45 Curt. 6.8.1: *advocato tum consilio amicorum* (only Krateros is named in what follows); 6.8.17: *secunda deinde vigilia, luminibus extinctis, cum paucis in regiam coeunt Hephaestio et Craterus et Coenus et Erigyius, hi ex amicis, ex armigeris autem Perdiccas et Leonnatus.* Cf. 6.11.11. *Consilio ergo dimisso, Hephaestio cum Cratero et Coeno ad quaestionem de Philota habendam consurgunt.*

46 Müller 2014b: 182 n.52 argues that Ptolemy was careful avoid any suggestion that he was a beneficiary of Philotas' (and Demetrios') fall: "Ptolemaios … war … noch mehr darum bemüht, den—zutreffenden—Verdacht zu zerstreuen, er habe ebenfalls von Philotas' Tod profitiert."

47 See Arr. *Anab.* 3.27.4, on the division of the command of the Companion Cavalry: ὅτι οὐδὲ φίλτατον ἂν ἠβούλετο ἕνα τοσούτων ἱππέων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατά τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετήν, ἐξηγεῖσθαι. Cf. Heckel 2002.

48 Ptolemy, *FGrH* 138 F14; Aristoboulos, *FGrH* 139 F24.

49 One thinks of the glory that accrued to Sulla as a result of his arrest of Iugurtha (under similar conditions). Sallust (*BJ* 96.1) calls Sulla *rudis antea et ignarus belli*, clearly an exaggeration but again it suggests a level of inexperience similar to Ptolemy's.

50 Arr. *Anab. proem.* 1: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ὅσα μὲν ταὐτὰ ἄμφω περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου συνέγραψαν, ταῦτ ἐγὼ ὡς πάντῃ ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω.

must indicate that Spitamenes and Dataphernes had done the "fettering." There must be an error in Arrian's summary, which makes sense if we excise Πτολεμαίῳ.[51] The text would then say: "Aristoboulos says that Spitamenes and Dataphernes brought Bessos and handed him over to Alexander naked, having fettered him in a wooden collar."[52] Other sources say that those who arrested Bessos brought him directly to the king, and it is likely that Ptolemy inserted himself into the account. Bosworth may be correct that Ptolemy escorted the rebels who surrendered Bessos, but this is probably not what Aristoboulos was trying to say, nor the point of Arrian's comment.[53]

In the spring of 328 BCE, as the Makedonians were establishing their camp, oil was discovered seeping from the ground. Arrian says that the news of this was brought to Alexander by Ptolemy. Plutarch says that the discovery was made by a certain Proxenos, who was in charge of those who handled the army's tents and other equipment (στρωματοφύλακες), as he was levelling the ground in preparation for setting up the king's tent (ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τπων στρωματοφυλάκων τεταγμένος ἀνὴρ Μακεδών, ὄνομα Πρόξενος, τῇ βασιλικῇ σκηνῇ χώραν ὀρύττων).[54] Here there is no contradiction in the sources, since Ptolemy does not claim to have made the discovery but merely to have reported it. But even that is a form of usurpation. That Ptolemy commanded one of five contingents of the army that swept through Sogdiana in 328 BCE is unique to Arrian as well. Curtius speaks of only three divisions of the army, commanded by Hephaistion, Koinos, and Alexander himself.[55] In all likelihood, Ptolemy conducted one or more missions with troops under Alexander's immediate control.

Hence it is not surprising that in the events that followed, both in Sogdiana and in Gandhāra, members of the *Somatophylakes* are given positions of responsibility. During the siege of the Rock of Chorienes (Sisimithres), three *Somatophylakes* (Ptolemy, Perdikkas, and Leonnatos) oversee the siegework in shifts during the night. And, in the campaign against the Aspasians, when two of Alexander's most trusted generals, Perdikkas and Hephaistion, had been sent ahead to bridge the Indus,[56] while Krateros, Polyperchon, and Koinos were reducing the fortified towns north of the Kabul River, Alexander relied more on Ptolemy and Leonnatos. Ptolemy, to be sure, does not gloss over their achievements, but he once again depicts himself as a major player, sustaining wounds in combat or, when his *aristeia* is on display, narrowly averting them.[57]

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51 Oddly, it was the second dative (Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) that Krüger wanted to delete.

52 περί + accusative does not have to mean "those with/around a person"; it can simply refer to the individual or individuals.

53 The comments of Hammond 1993, 234 are vague and unhelpful. See also Seibert 1969, 13, whose conclusions are in line with those of Bosworth: "Diese Stelle zeigt, daß die Darstellung des Lagiden im Bezug auf seine Person soweit zutrifft, daß er bei der ganzen Aktion mitwirkte, während die übrige Überlieferung seinen Namen verschweigt."

54 Plut. *Alex.* 57.5.

55 Arr. *Anab.* 4.16.2; Curt. 8.1.1.

56 Perdikkas and Hephaistion: Arr. *Anab.* 4.22.7; Curt. 8.10.2; they took with them the battalions of Gorgias, Meleagros, and White Kleitos.

57 Arr. *Anab.* 4.23.3: Alexander, Ptolemy and Leonnatos were all wounded in a skirmish near the Choes River.

> The actual leader of the Indians of this district was observed by Ptolemy son of Lagus, already close to a foothill; Ptolemy had with him some of the hypaspists, and though far inferior in numbers, he still continued to pursue him on his horse, but as the hill was hard for his horse to go up, he left his mount there, handing it to one of the hypaspists to lead, and in person followed the Indian on foot, just as he was. When the Indian saw Ptolemy drawing near, he himself turned round at bay, and his hypaspists with him,[58] and with his long spear struck at close quarters through Ptolemy's corselet to his breast; the corselet checked the blow. But Ptolemy drove right through the Indian's thigh, and felled and despoiled him. While his followers, on seeing their leader lying there, did not continue to stand their ground, others from the hills, seeing the enemy carrying off their hyparch's body, rushed down in distress and joined in a fierce battle near the hill. Now Alexander was already near the hill with his infantry dismounted. When they came on the scene they pushed the Indians back to the mountains, though with difficulty, and got possession of the body (Arr. *Anab.* 4.24.3–5).[59]

In the campaign that followed, Alexander's forces, which included contingents led by Leonnatos and Ptolemy, captured 40,000 men and 230,000 oxen; from the latter, Alexander selected the finest specimens and sent them to Makedonia (Arr. *Anab.* 4.15.1–4). But, as Bosworth notes, this "was propaganda well suited to the contemporary world, where the king's duty was to increase the prosperity of his subjects by the spoils of war."[60] Finally, Ptolemy ascribes to himself a significant role in the capture of the Rock of Aornos. Curtius, however, attributes these actions to Myllenas, who appears to have been a supporter of Antigonos in later years. Possibly, Ptolemy claimed credit in place of one of his political enemies.[61]

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[58] Arrian is using the term hypaspists in a non-technical sense, referring to the man's personal guard. Thus Bosworth 1995, 162, but I would disagree with his conclusion that "Ptolemy's attendants become hypaspists to match the hypaspists of the Aspasian prince." Although the hypaspists were rarely entrusted to anyone but the king in the early years, Alexander began around the time of the Indian campaign to allow others to lead them.

[59] I accept the comments of Howe 2008, 229 that "Ptolemy used the Indian Campaign to show himself as Alexander's right-hand man, every bit as courageous and talented and daring as Alexander himself, in order to justify his succession to the throne of Egypt and emphasize his own military pedigree." But I am less certain that he made deliberate use of Near Eastern models, that as king of Egypt at the time when he was writing his *History*, he was presenting himself in the style of the pharoahs of the past. The monumental displays of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II may have impressed the founder of the new dynasty, but one must consider the relationship between the form of the message and its intended audience. Had Ptolemy erected a public monument, complete with images and hieroglyphs, this would no doubt have resonated with an Egyptian audience, particularly the priest class. But a *History* written in Greek could have had no impact on the Egyptian population, educated or illiterate. It was surely the Greeks and Makedonians in his kingdom – the ones who held the minor offices or served in the military – who were his target audience. Although there are clearly Near Eastern parallels, the essential elements of Ptolemy's story are nevertheless distinctly Greek and in the long tradition of heroic legend (cf. Bosworth 1995, 162). It is, furthermore, interesting that Ptolemy's fight with the Aspasian prince is similar in some respects to Curtius' description of Erigyios' duel with Satibarzanes, something which Arrian (and thus probably Ptolemy) gave only superficial treatment (Curt. 7.4.32–38; Arr. *Anab.* 3.28.3).

[60] Bosworth 1995, 166. The figures for captives, as well as for the cattle taken, are rightly dismissed as "gross exaggeration."

[61] Arr. *Anab.* 4.29.1–6. Curt. 8.11.5: *leviter armatis dux datus est Myllinas* [MS: *mullinus*], *scriba regis.* It is difficult to see how *mullinus* could be a corruption of Ptolemaeus, nor does his designation as *scriba regis* ("king's secretary")

The majority of Ptolemy's achievements in the Gandhāra campaign are most likely historical (though doubtless exaggerated), for it is clear that, in the absence of the prominent marshals, the king had a limited number of competent subordinates to draw upon and turned to his personal "staff," that is, his *Somatophylakes*.[62] Thus we find not only Ptolemy but Lysimachos[63] as well playing significant roles in the siege of Sangala. After the Kathaians had been driven back into their city, the Makedonians blockaded them, with Ptolemy placed in a position where the Indians were most likely to break out.

> It was now about the fourth watch, and the tribesmen, as Alexander had been informed, opened the gates leading to the lake and ran towards it. Yet they did not escape detection by the guards on this side, nor by Ptolemy, who had been put in charge of them; but at once his buglers sound the alarm, and he moved with his forces fully armed and in good order against the tribesmen, who found obstacles in the waggons and the stockade thrown in the intervening space. And when the bugle sounded and Ptolemy and his troops assailed them, cutting them down as fast as they emerged between the wagons, they turned and fled back into the city. Some five hundred perished in this withdrawal. Some five hundred perished in this withdrawal (Arr. *Anab.* 5.24.2–3; P. A. Brunt tr.).

Ptolemy is named by Arrian on five other occasions, up to the king's return to Babylon, but twice the information comes from Aristoboulos, apparently without Ptolemy's corroboration. From what appears to be his own testimony, we learn that he built the funeral pyre for the Indian philosopher Kalanos, stealing some of the spotlight from Lysimachos.[64] All the *Somatophylakes* received golden crowns in Sousa for their services, but individual accomplishments are not recorded. And, finally, he comments on his own participation in the raid on the Kossaians, a campaign conducted by Alexander, at least in part, as a diversion after the death of Hephaistion.

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suggest that Ptolemy was the leader of these lightly armed men. Myllenas is attested as a son of Asandros, from Beroia (Tataki 1998, 81 no. 39; cf. Tataki 1988, no. 910). See Heckel 2006, 170; Berve 1926, 267–68 no. 542. The case of Eumenes (Plut. *Eum.* 1.6) shows that the office of *scriba regis* or γραμματεύς does not rule out military activity. Furthermore, Myllenas was honored as a *proxenos* in Eretria, together with Taur[i]on (probably Tauron son of Machatas, the commander of the archers; Billows 1990, 450 no. 139).

[62] Why Aristonous and Peithon were not given independent commands is unknown. I have argued elsewhere against Berve's view (1926, 311) that the Peithon who achieves prominence in the Punjab and the lower Indus as a phalanx commander could have been the son of Krateuas (Heckel 1990, 456–57).

[63] No specific command is given for Lysimachos (but he is singled out from amongst the *hegemones*), but he was wounded in the engagement (Arr. *Anab.* 5.24.5: τραυματίαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίούς, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ). Ptolemy's force included the Agrianes and three chiliarchies of hypaspists, troops that normally served directly under Alexander (5.23.7). Ptolemy and Lysimachos crossed the Hydaspes in the same boat as Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 5.13.1), but their roles in the battle are not recorded; presumably they remained in the vicinity of the king.

[64] Arr. *Anab.* 7.3.2. Lysimachos' relationship with Kalanos is mentioned, and he received the Nesaian horse on which the philosopher rode. For Lysimachos' interest in philosophy, see his alleged relationship with Kallisthenes (Justin 15.3.2, with Yardley, Wheatley, and Heckel 2011, 257).

> Alexander reduced the tribe, although he campaigned in winter. Neither the wintry season nor the difficulties of the country stood in his way, *nor in that of Ptolemy son of Lagos, who led part of the army against them* (Arr. *Anab.* 7.15.3; P. A. Brunt tr.).

It is perhaps the most gratuitous example of Ptolemy's self-praise.

Once more the accounts not based on Ptolemy's own writing

Aristoboulos named him as one of the seven *Somatophylakes* in Karmania, when Alexander rewarded the bravery of Peukestas, who saved his life in India, by appointing him an exceptional (and temporary) eighth member of the bodyguard.[65] Peukestas had been a supporter of Eumenes (albeit a troublesome one) and was later found in the entourage of Antigonos. Although Ptolemy denied the claim that he himself saved Alexander's life,[66] he may not have wished to draw attention to the recognition Peukestas received from the king. But it is interesting that the claim that Ptolemy himself saved the king's life at the town of the Mallians comes from other sources and is shown to be false on Ptolemy's own evidence. Even a shameless self-promoter could not endorse the enormity of this lie.

Whether Aristoboulos alone, or Aristoboulos and some other writer, provided the details of the mass marriages at Sousa, where Ptolemy received as a bride Artakama – daughter of Artabazos and, thus, a sister of Alexander's former mistress, Barsine – is unclear. The text (in translation) reads:

> He also held weddings at Susa for himself and for the Companions; he himself married Darius' eldest daughter Barsine, and, as Aristobulus says, another wife as well, Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Ochus. He had already taken to wife Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian. To Hephaestion he gave Drypetis, another daughter of Darius, sister to his own wife (for he desired Hephaestion's children to be cousins to his own); to Craterus, Amastrine daughter of Oxyatres, Darius' brother; to Perdiccas, a daughter of Atropates, satrap of Media; to Ptolemy the bodyguard and Eumenes the royal secretary, the daughters of of Artabazos, Artacama, and Artonis respectively; to Nearchus the daughter of Barsine and Mentor; to Seleucus the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian (Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.4–6; P. A. Brunt tr.).

Jacoby (*FGrH* 139 F32) cautiously takes only the first portion of the passage as a fragment of Aristoboulos, who supplies the information about Alexander's wives, Barsine and Parysatis (αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἠγάγετο, ὡς δὲ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ, τῶν Ὤχου θυγατέρων τὴν νεωτάτην Παρύσατιν). But if Arrian is adding a variant from Aristoboulos, it is

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[65] Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.4 = Aristoboulos, *FGrH* 139 F50. For the career of Peukestas see Heckel 1992, 263–67; cf. Billows 1990, 417–18 no. 90. Ancient sources on who shielded Alexander in the town of the Mallians: Curt. 9.5.15, 17 (Leonnatos, Peukestas, Aristonous, Timaeus); Plut. *Mor.* 344d (Leonnatos, Ptolemy, Limnaios); Plut. *Mor.* 327b (only Ptolemy and Limnaios); Arr. *Ind.* 19.8 = Nearchos, *FGrH* 133 F1 (Leonnatos and Peukestas); Arr. *Anab.* 6.9.3, 10.1–2 (Leonnatos, Peukestas, Habreas).

[66] Curt. 9.5.2; Paus. 1.6.2; Plut. *Mor.* 344d, 327b.

most likely that he alone called Dareios' daughter Barsine, although she is generally known as Stateira.[67] But this does not rule out the possibility that the entire passage was taken from Aristoboulos.[68] Ptolemy appears well down the list, and it is debatable whether, given the complete disappearance of the Persian bride, who clearly did not fit into his dynastic plans in Egypt, Ptolemy would have bothered to mention her at all.[69]

Ptolemy and the so-called Vulgate

That Ptolemy should have written himself into the pages of his own *History of Alexander* is understandable, as is his omission of the deeds of others or the attribution of another's deeds to himself. But what is surprising is just how little the other sources (particularly the Vulgate authors) say about the man who became one of the giants of the early Hellenistic world. This brings us back to interminable and insoluble debate on the relationship of the three major lost sources – Ptolemy, Aristoboulos, Kleitarchos – to one another.[70] A recently discovered papyrus, dating to the 1st/2nd century CE, appears to confirm an older view that Kleitarchos was the last of the three to compose his history, for it identifies the man as the tutor of young Ptolemy IV Philopator, and thus dates his *floruit* to the middle or end of the 3rd century.[71] But this only makes it more difficult to understand why a man writing in Alexandria, at the Ptolemaic court and after the publication of Ptolemy's own work, should have so little to say about the founder of his patron dynasty and even went so far as to contradict some of what he wrote.

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[67] Diod. 17.107.6; Plut. *Mor.* 338d, *Alex.* 70.3; Justin 12.10.10.

[68] Hammond 1993, 284 n.14 believes the list "was given no doubt by both authors, and Arrian simply noted one point of disagreement between his main sources."

[69] Whether name was Artakama, as in Arrian, or Apame (Plut. *Eum.* 1.7) is uncertain. Müller 2013, 203–6 rightly notes that a *Persian* bride, especially a great-granddaughter of Artaxerxes II, would have offended the sensibilities of the Egyptians. Ogden 1999, 69 cautions: "we cannot prove that she did not sit out her life quietly at the Alexandrian court."

[70] Tarn 1948, 16–43, who argues that Aristoboulos wrote first (between 294 and 288); Ptolemy second (between 288 and 283); and Kleitarchos last (in the reign of Philadelphos); see also Parker 2009, reviving older views of Kleitarchos. Every Alexander scholar finds himself drawn willy-nilly into the rat's nest of *Quellenforschung.*

[71] *POxy* LXXI, 4808 (Beresford, Parsons and Pobjoy 2007). I am, however, persuaded by the arguments of Prandi 2012 that the evidence of the papyrus alone is not enough to overturn the view that Kleitarchos wrote before 310 and thus before Ptolemy became king or wrote his own *History.* For earlier literature on Kleitarchos see Seibert 1975, 16–18 and 236–38. Jacoby's date (*FGrH* IID 485: "wohl eher gegen 310, als gegen 300") is supported also by Schachermeyr 1970, 211–24; cf. Schachermeyr 1973, 658–62; Zambrini 2007, 212; Prandi 1996, 69–71, for the evidence of the Testimonia (*FGrH* 137 T1–14). I continue to hold the view that Kleitarchos wrote before Ptolemy (cf. Heckel 2007, 271–73) despite the claims of Meeus 2014 294 n.113 that "new information from *P. Oxy.* LXXI 4808 that Clitarchus was the tutor of Ptolemy Philopator ... makes it almost impossible that Clitarchus published his work before 310." As Prandi 2012, 23 rightly notes: "The fact that *POxy* LXXI. 4808 has only recently been discovered does not make it more important or invalidating for the outcome of the data we have at hand, not least because it seems to be the product of a non-official private environment." Cf. also the misdating of Euphantos from the time of Ptolemy I to Ptolemy III (Tarn 1933, 57).

The man and his history

Ptolemy's *History* dealt with events from the beginning of Alexander's reign, though it is doubtful that he discussed the turmoil that led to Philip's assassination. The circumstances that brought Alexander to the throne will have been known to him only second hand, since he was in exile at the time. But he returned after Philip's death and was present in the army that conducted the European campaigns of 336 and 335 BCE. These he later described in a fair amount of detail without even the hint of his own participation, and certainly not in a leadership role. For the early years of the Asiatic campaign he added nothing about himself to Kallisthenes' official account until he came to the battle at the Persian Gates. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that he did, in fact, make his military début here. The role, although a minor one in relation to the actions of Alexander and Krateros, would nevertheless have been difficult to invent[72] – by the same token it is unlikely that he cast himself in the role of another officer, in this case Philotas.[73] Kallisthenes and those who wrote after him knew nothing about his contribution or chose to ignore it. It appears that Ptolemy's recollection of events at the Persian Gates set the pattern for other exaggerations of his own accomplishments and worth. His *animus* towards his later rivals is well documented by other scholars. This discussion restricts itself to what he said about himself.

By the time he wrote – if I am correct in dating the *History* to the end of his life – there would have been very few who were still alive and who knew the whole truth. As Bosworth 1980, 329 points out, Ptolemy "could exaggerate his role with relative safety." And, if it was truly more shameful for kings to tell lies,[74] it was even more inadvisable for others to point out their fabrications, whether large or small. But, even if there are places where we might suspect that Ptolemy gives himself more credit than he deserved or steals the spotlight from others, it would be a mistake to dismiss him as a pathological liar who fabricated his entire *curriculum vitae.* This is clear from the fact that Ptolemy himself was content to omit embarrassing episodes or make subtle corrections of others' untruths, most notably Kleitarchos, even when they redounded to his credit.[75] He did fashion his own history in a way that we might now consider beneath his dignity. Modesty was not a characteristic of generals, kings, and heroes.

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72 Howe 2015, 184 (quoted above). Ptolemy's role at the Gates, Aornos and Sangala are somewhat similar. He blocks the enemy's escape route.

73 Thus Worthington 2016, 39, following Bosworth 1980, 328–29.

74 Arrian's naïve comment in his *proem.* 2: αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι αἰσχρότερον ἤ τῷ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασθαι ἦν.

75 Particularly the story that he saved Alexander's life in the town of the Mallians. The claim that he received the epithet Soter as a result of this episode, dismissed by Arr. 6.11.8 (Diod. 20.100.3 tells us that it was applied to him by the Rhodians after 304), probably derives from Timagenes. Curt. 9.5.21 says that Kleitarchos and Timagenes credit Ptolemy with saving Alexander. If the connection was made between this event and title Soter, it more likely to be the work of the latter. It is fashionable to say, on the basis of Curt. 9.5.21, that Ptolemy corrected the error, but in fact he simply gives a different version and the error was noted by later writers. For the implications see Pearson 1960, 207–8. Curtius is right to note about Ptolemy*: ipse scilicet gloriae suae non refragatus.*

Event	*Arrian, Anabasis*	*Other source(s)*	*Comments*
Hetairos of Alexander, banished by Philip II	3.6.5	Plut. *Alex.* 10.4	
Command at the Persian Gates	3.18.9		
Thaïs (Persepolis) was Ptolemy's mistress		Plut. 38.2; cf. Athen. 13.576e	Burning of Persepolis omitted by Arrian
Somatophylax in 331	3.27.5		
Receives the extradition of Bessos who was arrested by his own followers	3.29.7–30.5		
Reports the discovery of oil to Alexander	4.15.7–8		Plut. *Alex.* attributes this to Proxenos
Leads one of five columns of the army in Sogdiana	4.16.2		Curt. 8.1.1 says the army was divided into three parts, led by Koinos, Hephaistion and Alexander himself
His role in the Kleitos affair	4.8.9	Curt. 8. 8.1. 45, 48	In Arrian he restrains Kleitos; in Curtius Alexander. Arrian's story comes from Aristoboulos
Directs the siege of the Rock of Chorienes by night	4.21.4		This was done in shifts led by Pt., Leonnatos and Perdikkas
Reports the plot of Hermolaos	4.13.7	Curt. 8.6.22	Only Pt. in Arrian; Ptolemy and Leonnatos in Curtius
Wounded early in the India campaign	4.23.3		
Independent commands in Gandhāra	4.24.3–5; 4.24.8; 4.25.2–3; 4.29.1–6		Only a brief allusion to this in Curt. 8.10.21
His *aristeia* against the Aspasian leader	4.24.3–5		
Independent command at Aornos	4.29.1–6		Curt. 8.11.5 attributes this command to Myllenas.
Diverts attention of Poros at the Hydaspes		Curt. 8.13.18–19, 23, 27	
Participates in Hydaspes battle	5.13.1	Curt. 8.14.15	He crossed the river with Alexander. No other details. Curtius' account contradicts his remarks at 8.13.18 ff.
Prevents the Kathaians from escaping from Sangala	5.23.7–24.3		
Trierarch of the Hydaspes fleet		Arr. *Ind.* 18.5	Nearchos, *FGrH* 133 F1

Event	*Arrian, Anabasis*	*Other source(s)*	*Comments*
Independent command against the Mallians	6.11.8		He was thus absent when Alexander was wounded (cf. Curt. 9.5.2; Paus. 1.6.2; Plut. *Mor.* 327b)
Near fatal wound during the siege of the "Brahmin" town		Diod. 17.103.6–7; Curt. 9.8.23–24	The vulgate comments that Pt. was the illegitimate son of Philip II and loved by Alexander
One of the *Somatophylakes* in 324	6.28.4	cf. Curt. 9.8.23	Arrian's source is Aristoboulos (*FGrH* 139 F50); Curtius' notice is in a different context
Overseer of the funeral pyre for Kalanos	7.3.2		
Marriage at Sousa to Artakama	7.4.6 =	cf. Plut. *Eum.* 1.7	Plut. calls her Apame. Arrian's source is Aristoboulos (*FGrH* 139 F52)
Awarded golden crown for service	7.5.6		
Kossaian campaign 324/3	7.15.1–3		

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Chapter 2

Ptolemy and the Destruction of the First Regency

Edward Anson

There has been much discussion relating to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and his ambitions. Diodorus repeatedly criticizes many of Alexander's Successors for insatiable greed,[1] in contrast Ptolemy is consistently described as generous and pious,[2] and only on one occasion does Diodorus, in a general statement that originated probably with Diodorus himself, suggest that Ptolemy likewise had ambitions equal to those of his rivals. In this particular case, Diodorus is commenting on the attempts by many of the Diadochs, including Ptolemy, to secure the hand of Alexander's sister Cleopatra in marriage, and states with respect to all her suitors that each hoped by the marriage "to gain supreme power for himself."[3] Polybius (5.34.9), the 2nd century BCE historian, in his assessment of the first three Ptolemaic kings states that their goal was to protect Egypt, and that those possessions held outside of Egypt were to be "a fence of client states" to protect Egypt.[4] This Polybian assessment likely had a long pedigree. Today, most recent scholars, however, proclaim that Ptolemy was little different in his ambitions from the other Diadochs.[5] In the words of Alexander Meeus, the Egyptian satrap was

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[1] Diod. 18.23.3, 33.3, 41.4–5, 47.5, 50.2, 54.4, 62.3, 6–7; 19.55. 4; 20.106. 2, 4.

[2] Diod. 18.14.1, 28.4–6, 33.3, 34.2–4, 36.1, 39.5, 86.3; 19.55.5, 56.1, 86.2–3; Plut. *Demetr.* 5.4; 38.1; Just. 15.1.7.

[3] Diod. 20.37.4

[4] Ptolemy III did engage in an abortive invasion of Mesopotamia and a siege of Babylon in 246/5 BCE (*BCHP* 11 [*BM* 34428]), which is clearly out of the comfort zone of Egypt. Indeed, Alexander Meeus (2014, 267–8) argues that the Polybian passage is subject to multiple interpretations and is not good evidence for a separatist position. However, the context of the passage is that by holding these territories outside of Egypt that land was protected. Meeus is correct that the passage can be taken as defensive or offensive, yet, the centrality of Egypt in the overall strategy presented in the passage is plain.

[5] Gruen 1985, 253–71; Billows 1990, 156–60, 351–2; Bosworth 2000, 238–9; Hauben 2014, 260–1; Meeus 2014; Strootman 2014, 314–15; Worthington 2016, 4, 210. For the more traditional Polybian view, see Bevan 1968; 1927, 23; Will 1964, 332; Ellis 1994, ix, 33.

"simply more careful" in the pursuit of his "vast ambitions."[6] The debate then has come to center on whether Ptolemy wished to partition the empire or to become the new Alexander, holding the empire intact under his personal authority. This paper will suggest that Ptolemy was not simply in favor of partition, but in the ultimate dissolution of the empire and its attendant Argead monarchy. In this sense he may have been the most reckless of all of Alexander's Successors at the very beginning. After all, it was Ptolemy who, early in his reign, began to act independently of the central government, and it was Ptolemy who, as much as Perdiccas, provoked the First Diadoch War by his capture of Alexander's corpse. The notion that Ptolemy wished only to secure part of Alexander's empire is based on his initial and continued focus on Egypt. While it is difficult to determine what Ptolemy may have intended, one avenue to get a sense of his ambition is to examine what he actually did.

Ptolemy was different from the other Diadochs in his early actions. Clearly, he saw that Alexander's empire would not survive as an extension of the traditional Macedonian monarchy. Alexander had changed the very nature of that monarchy and the lack of competent Argead heirs would doom its survival. The empire would ultimately either be partitioned among the Conqueror's generals, or survive intact under the authority of one of them. Ptolemy seemed eager to move ahead into this new reality. At first, Ptolemy may have seen himself as the true heir of Alexander's empire. Justin (13.2.12) states that Ptolemy offered as an alternative to a nominal king with a powerful regent the selection of a king who was "closest in merit to the king [Alexander]." Pat Wheatley and Waldemar Heckel believe that Ptolemy at this point in the discussion may have had himself in mind. Justin in his account of the crisis that ensued on Alexander's death apparently references a number of what may have been preliminary meetings before the general gathering described in Curtius, Book 10.[7] In the Curtian account of this combined meeting of officers and soldiers there is no mention of Ptolemy suggesting that a king be chosen from among Alexander's closest companions, rather it is Aristonous who proposes that Perdiccas be chosen as king.[8] The proposal attributed by Justin to Ptolemy may then be from an earlier meeting of those closest to the Conqueror, or Curtius may simply have omitted this proposal from his account of the general meeting. Ptolemy in the penultimate meeting/riot that broke out in Babylon after Alexander's death did express dissatisfaction with all the possible Argead candidates for the throne. Both Heracles and the potentially incubating Alexander IV were rejected as of Asiatic descent,[9] and Arrhidaeus, Alexander's half-brother, as mentally incompetent.[10] Ptolemy in the Curtian account offered as an alternative to selecting any king that all major decisions be made by

6 Meeus 2014, 263, 306; cf. Heckel 2016, 238, n. 46.
7 Wheatley and Heckel 2011, 72; cf. Bosworth 2000, 241. See Anson 2014, 18.
8 Curt. 10.6.16.
9 Curt. 10.6.13–14.
10 Just. 13.2.11; cf. Curt. 10.7.16.

a council of Alexander's usual advisors.[11] This council was likely to be made up of the seven official bodyguards, who at the time of Alexander's death were Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Perdiccas, Ptolemy, Pithon, and, perhaps, Peucestas.[12] This suggestion would effectively eliminate not only the monarchy, but as a corollary, also any need for a regent. This proposal may have been the result of the virtual certainty that, if a king outright or a regent were selected from the bodyguards, that individual would not likely be Ptolemy. He is not mentioned in any discussion as a possible candidate for either position, so proposing a ruling council could have been simply his way of staying in the center of power.[13] It is also possible, and I believe more likely, that Ptolemy made the earlier suggestion described in Justin in an attempt to shift the conversation away from the idea of one ruler for the empire. With so many who might see themselves as just such a candidate, the debate might have been designed to lead to Ptolemy's suggestion of a ruling council.

But, what would Ptolemy hope to achieve in rule by council? Either he expected the group to remain in Babylon and act collectively through surrogates, or, what seems far more probable, divide up the empire among the elite leaders. With the failure of the proposed council and the emergence of Perdiccas as regent and guardian for the two kings, Arrhidaeus now hailed as Philip III and the infant Alexander IV, Ptolemy moved to secure the satrapy of Egypt.[14] Ptolemy had accompanied Alexander to Egypt[15] and would have been impressed by its wealth and also its natural defenses.[16] Of all the major areas of Alexander's former empire, it was the most well protected, surrounded by desert on two sides, shoals in the north, and cataracts to the south, a virtual natural fortress.[17]

Upon becoming satrap, Ptolemy eliminated the previous de facto governor, Cleomenes,[18] who in Babylon had been made Ptolemy's lieutenant (*hyparchos*),[19]

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[11] Curt. 10.6.15.

[12] Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.4.

[13] Mooren 1983, 233; Meeus 2008, 50; 2014, 270.

[14] Curt. 10.10.1; Just. 13.4.10; Diod. 18.1.3.

[15] Arrian (*Anab.* 3.3.1) relates that Ptolemy writes of Alexander's journey to Siwah. However, that he actually journeyed to Siwah has been questioned (Welles 1962, 280–1). However, even if Welles is correct, Ptolemy was present at Issus (Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.8) and there is no mention of his separation from the army prior to entering Egypt.

[16] Diodorus (18.6.4) remarks that Egypt was "the best satrapy of all and one that has great revenues," and later (19.93.6) comments that Ptolemy would in part rely on the geography of Egypt to resist Antigonus' invasion of 306.

[17] Kahn and Tammuz 2008, 37–66.

[18] On his status prior to Alexander's death, see Yardley *et al.* 2011, 90; Collins 2012, 237–42; Anson 2014, 43, n.38. There is disagreement about Cleomenes' official title and authority in Egypt. Jacob Seibert, following Arrian (*Succ.* 1.5) declares that he was satrap (Seibert 1969, 43–4, 50), but it is more likely that he simply became the de facto satrap of Egypt. Alexander had initially divided authority in Egypt among a number of officials, apparently leaving no one in overall authority (Arr. *Anab*. 3. 5.2–7). Ian Worthington (2016, 20) argues that Ptolemy did not leave for Egypt until 322 BCE and did not execute Cleomenes until his relationship with Perdiccas began to deteriorate. It is doubtful that Ptolemy would have waited to secure his satrapy, or to leave in place someone clearly present to spy on the satrap's activities. Moreover, Pa usanias (1.6.3) dates the murder prior to the seizure of Alexander's body.

[19] Arr. *Succ*. 1.5.

probably in an attempt to keep a watch on the new satrap.[20] Ptolemy also formed an understanding with Antipater, General in Macedonia.[21] The nature of this "understanding" is unstated, but later when Antipater discovered Perdiccas' plan to invade Macedonia, a military alliance was quickly created between the General in Macedonia and the Satrap of Egypt.[22] It is likely, however, that this initial agreement was nothing more than a recognition of each other's standing. Early on, Antipater was especially solicitous of the regent, who was his son-in-law,[23] and, therefore, unlikely to have been conspiring against him. Antipater had sent the question of Athenian possession of Samos to the kings, i.e. the regent, for adjudication,[24] and the Macedonian general was later caught off guard when the news was brought to him of Perdiccas' desire to invade Macedonia and proclaim himself king.[25]

Furthermore Ptolemy had annexed the Greek city-state of Cyrene without the approval of the new regent.[26] While Photius' Epitome of Arrian (*Succ*. 1 5) states that both Egypt and Libya were awarded to Ptolemy in Babylon, Curtius (10.10.1; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.4) suggests that this reference to Libya referred solely to those peoples routinely under the sovereignty of satrap of Egypt, and not to an independent Greek city.[27] The clearest act of insubordination, however, occurred in the winter of 321 BCE, when the Egyptian satrap seized the body of the dead Conqueror which was supposed to be on its way to Perdiccas in Asia Minor.[28] Not only was this in violation of the will of the regent, but Ptolemy used violence against a force sent by the regent to forestall the satrap's action.[29] While there is considerable debate concerning the decision reached in Babylon concerning Alexander's burial site,[30]

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[20] Arr. *Succ.* 1.5; Dexippus, *FGrH* 100 F-8; Just. 13.4.11.

[21] Diod. 18.14.2.

[22] Diod. 18.25.4.

[23] Diod. 18.23.1–3; Arr. *Succ.* 1.21; Just. 13.6.6. Ptolemy may also at this time have married another of Antipater's daughters, Eurydice, but this may have occurred later (Paus. 1.6.8).

[24] Diod. 18.18.6.

[25] Diod. 18.25.3–4.

[26] Diod. 18.21.7–9; Arr. *Succ*. 1.16–19; *FGrH* 239 B F-10. While Ptolemy's intervention in what had become a Cyrenaean civil war might be justified in the interest of stability, his annexation of the city should have required approval by the adult king as represented by his regent. However, it is true that while Alexander lived satraps often interfered in the internal affairs of cities supposedly autonomous (Bosworth 1988, 257). It had also been the ambition of at least one pharaoh of Egypt as a means of securing his western frontier (Hdt. 2.161.4; 4.159.4–6).

[27] Our sources make it clear that Ptolemy intervened in Cyrene by invitation (Diod. 18.21.6). The Cyrenaeans had previously received assistance from "their allies," neighboring Libyans and Carthaginians (Diod. 18.21.4). If Cyrene was part of this satrapy, the Cyrenaeans would not have gone elsewhere for help, nor would Ptolemy have needed an invitation.

[28] Arr. *Succ*. 24. 1–4; 25; 1.25; Diod. 18.28.2–3; Str. 17.1.8.

[29] Arr. *Succ.* 1.25, 24.1.

[30] Diodorus (18.3.5; cf. 18.28.3) states that it was decided in the conclave of the *principes* in Babylon following the reconciliation of the cavalry and infantry that the body was to be transported to Siwah for burial (accepted by Badian 1967, 187–8). Here Diodorus is, perhaps, reflecting Alexander's personal wish (Curt. 10.5.4; Arr. *Anab.* 7.26.3; Diod. 17.117.3; Just. 12.15.7; 13.4 6), one of those last plans of the dead king rejected by the army in Babylon (Diod. 18.4), or remembering a detail from his source for Alexander's campaign, or something he may have heard on his own visit to Egypt (Diod. 1.44.1; cf. 1.10.6–7, 22.2, 61.4), having been impressed by the official Egyptian accounts. The body was, perhaps, from the beginning meant to go to Aegae (Paus. 1.6.3), the

the seizure of the corpse was in direct and physical violation of the orders of the regent. Arrhidaeus, the commander in charge of the transportation of Alexander's corpse from Babylon, perhaps, in collusion with Archon, the satrap of Babylonia,[31] diverted the funeral cortège to Egypt, where the body in the winter of 321/20 BCE was interred temporarily in Memphis with elaborate rites.[32] Arrhidaeus' reason for disobeying the regent is unknown. He may have wanted to fulfil Alexander's personal desire to be buried at Siwah, or he may have suspected Perdiccas' grand intentions and following Alexander's death Meleager had stated to the assembled that Perdiccas would seize power under the guise of a regency.[33] However, Meleager's accusation came during the initial disturbance and the ultimate decision by the leaders in Babylon was to confer the regency on Perdiccas. Of course, later these suspicions did become a reality. Perdiccas, in the summer of 321 BCE, did determine to proclaim himself king.[34]

Diodorus' chronology, however, in particular puts the seizure of the Conqueror's corpse before any real knowledge of Perdiccas' ambitious plans to march to Macedonia and seize the throne became known.[35] The funeral carriage had begun its journey west about the same time that events were unfolding that would lead to the regent's plan to become king.[36] It was the murder of Alexander's half-sister, Cynnane, in the summer of 321 BCE that would be the catalyst for Perdiccas' active designs on the throne. In that summer, Cynnane, the daughter of Philip II and Audata, and the widow of Amyntas Perdicca, Philip II's nephew and Alexander's cousin, arrived in Asia demanding that her own daughter Adea be married to King Philip.[37] Cynnane had raised a troop of her own and had forced her way out of Macedonia despite Antipater's attempt to block her departure.[38] Perdiccas sent his brother Alcetas north to intercept her. When her determination proved unshakeable, Cynnane was murdered by Alcetas probably on Perdiccas' orders.[39] The army reacted violently, forcing Perdiccas to agree to the marriage. Adea now changed her name to Eurydice and became the wife of Philip III.[40] It was this incident that precipitated a change in the policy of the regent. Prior to the appearance and murder of Cynnane, Perdiccas had married Antipater's daughter Nicaea, in preference to a proposal from Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, indicating that he was at least at that moment not interested in seizing power in his

traditional site for the burial of Macedonian kings (Just. 7.2.2–5; Borza 1990, 167, 259); Arrhidaeus violated his instructions by turning south and heading to Egypt (Arr. *Succ.* 1.25).

31 Archon was subsequently removed by Perdiccas (Arr. *Succ.* 24.3–5), suggesting that he may have, at least in the mind of the regent, known of the plot.

32 Paus. 1.6.3.

33 Curt. 10.6.21.

34 Anson 2014, 55–6.

35 Anson 2014, 56.

36 Anson 1986, 212–13.

37 Arr. *Succ.* 1.22; Polyaen. 8.60; cf. Diod. 19.52.5.

38 Polyaen. 8.60.

39 Diod. 19.52.5; Arr. *Succ.* 1.22–23; Polyaen. 8.60; Briant 1973, 261.

40 Arr. *Succ.* 1.23; Polyaen. 8.60; Diod. 19.52.5.

own name. He had assumed that this was unnecessary at this juncture. The royal army had proven loyal in a couple of campaigns and the regent's authority to this point had not been seriously challenged. The episode with Cynnane now convinced Perdiccas that his control of the army and hence the empire was not as firm as he had assumed. He now decided that to cement his authority he would have to become king in his own right, and preparations were made ready for an invasion of Macedonia. The plan was to marry Cleopatra and in the company of his new wife, Alexander's brother and son, and likely welcomed by Alexander's mother Olympias, accompany the Conqueror's body back to his homeland for formal burial in Aegae.[41] Macedonian regencies had been rare and rarer still were those that survived.[42]

Arrhidaeus, however, started his journey unaware of these events unfolding in western Asia. His journey began likely in the late summer of 321 BCE,[43] with his rendezvous with Ptolemy in northern Syria in the winter. It was in this same winter that knowledge of Perdiccas' plan to invade Macedonia and seize the throne became known. The news was revealed by Antigonus, the Phrygian satrap,[44] and it came as a shock to Antipater who with his colleague Craterus was then in the midst of a winter campaign in Aetolia.[45] Diodorus (18.23.3) indicates that Antigonus was well informed of the intrigues involving Cleopatra and Perdiccas. Menander, an Antigonid ally[46] and satrap of Lydia, was ideally situated to know of the activities involving the Conqueror's sister, since she was then resident in Sardis. Menander may have become disenchanted with the regent, who apparently made the satrap subservient to the authority of Alexander's sister.[47] Upon his arrival in Macedonia, Antigonus warned Antipater of Perdiccas' designs.[48] He stated that Perdiccas would soon divorce Nicaea and marry Cleopatra as a preliminary to proclaiming himself king and invading Macedonia. Whatever proof Antigonus supplied, it was convincing. Antipater and Craterus immediately made peace with the Aetolians and began to prepare for an invasion of Asia.[49] Antigonus must have brought to Macedonia irrefutable evidence of Perdiccas' plans to seize the monarchy. The source may well have been someone in Cleopatra's immediate circle who passed that evidence to Menander who in turn passed it on to Antigonus.[50] Given that Arrhidaeus violated the commands of the regent before any news of Perdiccas' impending attempt to undo the decisions made in Babylon, this collusion with Ptolemy must have been in place, perhaps, from as early as the arrangements made shortly after Alexander's death. Our sources make

[41] Anson 2014, 55–6.
[42] Anson 2009, 276–86.
[43] Anson 1986, 212–13.
[44] Diod. 18.25.3–5; Arr. *Succ*. 1.24; *FGrH* 239 B F-10, 11.
[45] Diod. 18.25.1–3.
[46] While this is not definitely known, later actions by Menander make it appear likely (Anson 2014, 56).
[47] Arr. *Succ*. 25.2.
[48] Diod. 18.25.3; Arr. *Succ*. 1.24.
[49] Diod. 18.25.3–5.
[50] Anson 2014, 57–8.

it very clear that Arrhidaeus did not suddenly in Syria decide to take the body to Ptolemy. The Egyptian satrap was not summoned to Syria after the funeral cortege arrived there, but rather he rendezvoused with Arrhidaeus in Syria.[51] Even a cavalry force traveling from Alexandria to Damascus would have taken almost a month to make the journey. Moreover, Ptolemy apparently marched from Egypt with a sufficient force, for Arrian (*Succ.* 1.25; 24.1) records that he was harassed by Polemon and Attalus all the way back to Egypt, but the agents of the regent were unable to prevent the satrap's return. While the reasons for Arrhidaeus' actions can only be guessed, it is clear that Ptolemy knew exactly what he was doing; he was precipitating a war. The murder of Cleomenes and the seizure of Cyrene would have been pretext enough, but the seizure of Alexander's corpse in direct opposition not only to the wishes of the regent but also militarily,[52] made war inevitable.

But, why precipitate a war? Ptolemy did not know when he caballed with Arrhidaeus of the impending war between Perdiccas and Antipater. It must have been a pleasant surprise when word came along with the request for an alliance with Alexander's old Macedonian regent.[53] While, as noted, there had been some earlier understanding between Ptolemy and Antipater,[54] it is very clear in Diodorus that a military alliance aimed against the regent had not existed before this latter request, which originated with Antipater. In any case, Ptolemy must have known that he would face Perdiccas alone. Even if an offensive and defensive alliance was in place with the Macedonian general, Antipater was in no position to intervene sooner than he actually did. He was involved in a war in Aetolia and until early in 320 BCE forces ostensibly loyal to Perdiccas controlled the royal fleet and hence the Hellespontine crossing. Cleitus, the fleet commander, did not desert the Perdiccan cause until the spring of 320 BCE.[55] Ptolemy, therefore, exhibited a great degree of confidence in his ability to deal with Perdiccas without the assistance of allies. Even given the natural defenses of Egypt, Ptolemy was taking a great risk in facing the regent who commanded the bulk of Alexander the Great's former army.

Invading Egypt was, however, a most difficult undertaking. Egypt was protected on all sides by formidable natural barriers.[56] To the west was the great expanse of the Sahara desert; to the east the Sinai Peninsula with its heat, lack of potable water, and quicksand; to the north the Mediterranean Sea and the shoals and marshes that guarded the coast. While the Nile River emptied into the Mediterranean through seven separate branches, only two of which were truly navigable by warships and these were likewise naturally guarded by marches, reefs, sandbars, and the like.[57] Moreover, the Nile itself protected Egypt especially when in flood stage, which occurred typically from June/July

[51] Diod. 18.28.3; cf. Arr. *Succ.* 1.25; Paus. 1.6.3; Str. 17.1.8.
[52] Arr. *Succ.* 1.25; 24.1–4.
[53] Diod. 18.25.4.
[54] Diod. 18.14.2; cf. Paus. 1.6.8.
[55] Anson 2015, 106–11.
[56] Kahn and Tammuz 2008, 39, 41–3.
[57] Diod. 1.31.

to October. The Delta was further traversed by additional branches of the great river plus numerous canals, which especially protected Egypt from invasions from the east. The Egyptian cities, and in particular the current capital at Memphis, were predominantly on the western side of the Nile, but even cities such as Pelusium to the east of the Nile could be effectively protected by the river through the use of canals to flood approaches. To these more-or-less natural defenses, the Egyptians traditionally had added additional manmade impediments including towers and bridges, and the use of naval forces to impede entrance to the Nile or harass any forces attempting to cross the river. The Nile had been routinely patrolled by river boats equipped for combat.[58] Even though all of these manmade defenses are not mentioned in Diodorus' account of Perdiccas' invasion, it is likely that many were employed as they had been in the past prior to the occupation by the Macedonians. Ptolemy did secure important points with garrisons,[59] as he did later in the invasion of 306 BCE by Antigonus.[60] In this invasion, there is reference to river boats equipped with ordnance and the closing of the Pelusiac Channel.[61] Ptolemy then likely made ample use of these defenses both natural and manmade in his successful resistance to the two invasions he faced. Both of which failed in their goals.

It is clear from his actions that Ptolemy wished at the least to destroy Perdiccas' power from the very start of the regency. As to any other ambitions, it is clear from later events that the Egyptian satrap did not wish to become regent himself. After the defeat and assassination of Perdiccas, when the regency was apparently his for the asking, he demurred,[62] proclaiming his loyalty to the kings and his support for Pithon and Arrhidaeus, the transporter of Alexander's corpse, as the new regents.[63] The likely reason for Ptolemy so brazenly to push for war with Perdiccas is that he feared what might be the result of Perdiccas over time solidifying his power whether as regent or as king in his own name, becoming the true successor to Alexander and endangering Ptolemy's position in the new order. Perdiccas had successfully campaigned in Asia Minor and had through a surrogate, the aforementioned Pithon, crushed a revolt in the Upper Satrapies.[64] He was known to be conspiring against Antigonus, who like Ptolemy had ignored the regent's authority. The other Diadochs would have appeared far less dangerous to Ptolemy in 321 BCE. Perhaps, the most ambitious of them all, Leonnatus was dead, and Craterus, another very prominent lieutenant of the dead Alexander, had shown a muted ambition, moving to Macedonia and deferring to

[58] Diod. 16.47.6.
[59] Diod. 18.33.3.
[60] Diod. 20.75.1.
[61] Diod. 20.76.3–4.
[62] Diod. 18.36.7. While Roisman (2014, 471; 2012, 106–7; cf. Worthington 2016, 98) argues that the regency was never actually offered to Ptolemy and this entire scenario may be a piece of Ptolemaic propaganda, Diodorus is very clear and the situation certainly fits well with that author's narrative. Perdiccas was dead; the royal army was in Egypt and Ptolemy was being generous.
[63] Arr. *Succ.* 1.30; Diod. 18.36.7.
[64] Schober 1981, 28–37; Holt 1988.

Antipater.[65] Antipater himself appeared content in Macedonia. Lysimachus was fully occupied in Thrace.[66] The later clearly ambitious and talented Seleucus and Antigonus had not as yet shown forth either their ambition or skill. Ptolemy encouraged the awarding of the regency after Perdiccas' death to the lackluster Arrhidaeus and Pithon. By encouraging this arrangement, Ptolemy would realize a regency weakened both by its duality and its unimposing leaders. Even at Triparadeisus, when the regency passed to Antipater,[67] Ptolemy must have realized that the old Macedonian was not interested in reclaiming Alexander's former empire, for later that winter Antipater in possession of the kings passed back to Macedonia never to return to Asia in the brief time that was left to him.[68]

The seizure of Alexander's body, therefore, had a dual importance. It would provoke the regent to war,[69] but would also enhance Ptolemy's standing in the coming conflict. Whatever the original destination of the Conqueror's corpse was, Alexander had wanted to be buried in Siwah. For the moment the Macedonians, who had likely forgotten any grievances they had had against their previous king and commander, now delighted in their status as his veterans, would remember their dead king's wish. Moreover, simply possessing the body was a factor. Its possession would enhance the status of its possessor. All things associated with Alexander were sources of authority with the Macedonian veterans. In 318 BCE, Eumenes and his forces formally worshiped the dead king.[70] Perdiccas had realized the propaganda value of returning Alexander to his homeland. While the assumption that possession of the body conferred legitimacy of rule is to give the corpse too much authority,[71] it was a powerful talisman. Ptolemy's seeming honoring of the dead king along with his "kindness and generosity" were intended to secure the goodwill of the Macedonian veterans. In these early actions, Ptolemy is anything but cautious. He was obviously confident both in his own ability and the defensive strength of his Egyptian satrapy. Ptolemy meant to provoke a confrontation with the regent, a confrontation he was prepared to win on his own, and, which, indeed, he did without the assistance of any of the other heirs to Alexander's legacy.

Brian Bosworth (2000, 228) suggests that Ptolemy and his dynasty did come to center their rule in Egypt and this may have come to be seen as a deliberate rejection of the overweening ambition of many of the other Successors, when, in fact, it may simply have been the result of circumstances. But, Ptolemy's actions later do indicate a more circumspect ambition. Other than Egypt, Ptolemy did show an interest in the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, Cyprus, the Aegean Islands, coastal Asia

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[65] On Craterus' reluctance to seize power, see Anson 2012, 49–58; 2014; see also Pitt and Richardson 2017, 77–87.
[66] Lund 1992, 19–50.
[67] Anson 2014, 70–1.
[68] Anson 2014, 73.
[69] "He [Perdiccas] was even more determined to make an attack on Egypt, in order to remove Ptolemy from power, to set up one of his friends as governor of Egypt, and to recover the body of Alexander" (Arr. *Succ.* 24.1).
[70] Diod. 18.60.5–61. 3; Plut. *Eum.* 13.5–8; Polyaen. 4.8.2.
[71] So Schubert 1914, 189–1; Erskine 2002, 171.

Minor and occasionally parts of the Greek mainland. Of these areas outside Egypt his primary interest was in the acquisition of Phoenicia, Coelê Syria, and Cyprus. All three areas had historically been of special interest to the Egyptians during those periods of Egyptian independence. Necho II is reported to have led an army to the Euphrates in 609 BCE,[72] and is generally regarded to have controlled the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, even establishing a league of maritime states.[73] Herodotus (2.157) states that Ashdod was conquered during the reign of Psammetichus I,[74] and in the 6th century BCE, Apries II held in some fashion Cyprus and Phoenicia,[75] as did his successor Amasis II.[76] It has even been claimed that Ptolemy was simply following Saite foreign policy,[77] which was economic as well as defensive. While Egypt was well endowed with natural resources, there were gaps. Timber, copper, certain spices, and various precious stones could only be obtained outside of Egypt.[78] Ptolemy was not even the first ruler of Egypt to see the importance of controlling Cyrene as a means to securing the western approaches to Egypt. Apries II made an unsuccessful attack on the Greek colony around 570 BCE in an attempt to stop the Greek city's expansion into territory controlled by Egyptian allies.[79]

Ptolemy then in these areas may have been simply following earlier Egyptian interests. Phoenicia and Cyprus had been and continued to be important sources of crucial imports. Cohen (1995, 35) emphasizes that the island controlled the shipping lanes, was a major source of timber, and a center for ship building. Moreover, Diodorus (18.43.1) states that Ptolemy saw that "Phoenicia and Coelê Syria were conveniently located for an attack on Egypt," and it has been suggested that Cyprus' role was as a shield to protect Phoenicia and Syria.[80] Successful invasions of Egypt were usually the result of land and sea coordination by the invaders.[81] At the beginning of the First Diadoch War the Cypriots declared for Ptolemy,[82] indicating that Ptolemy's emissaries had been active on the island previously. The island remained mostly under Ptolemaic control until Demetrios' great sea victory over the Ptolemaic fleet at Salamis in 306 BCE, when it fell under Antigonid control.[83] It was regained by Ptolemy in 287 BCE[84] and retained until the end of his life.

In the spring of 318 BCE, the Egyptian satrap captured Phoenicia and Coelê Syria from their "lawful" satrap, Laomedon,[85] and consistently sought to retain their

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72 2 *Kings* 23: 29–35; 2 *Chronicles* 35: 20–22, 36: 4; *Jeremiah* 46: 2.
73 Boast 2006, 38.
74 Malamat l974, 447; Dever 1997, 220.
75 Diod. 1.68.1.
76 Diod. 1.68.6; Hdt. 2.182.
77 Hölbl 2001, 28.
78 See Shaw 2000, 313–14, 320–3.
79 Diod. 1.68.2. On Egyptian and Cyrenaean relations, see Mitchell 1966; Lloyd 2000, 374.
80 Balandier 2007, 153.
81 Anson 2016, 88.
82 Arr. *Succ.* 24.6.
83 Diod. 20.46.5–47.4, 7–53.1; Plut. *Demetr*. 15–17.1; Just. 15.2.6–9; Polyaen. 4.7.7; Paus. 1.6.6; App. *Syr*. 54.
84 Plut *Demetr.* 35.7.
85 Diod. 18.43, 73.2; *FGrH* 239 B F-12.

possession. Despite a brief interlude when Eumenes occupied Phoenicia in 318 BCE, but left for the East the very next year,[86] Ptolemy occupied the region until 314 BCE, when these areas were taken by Antigonus.[87] Here, except for a short period after the Battle of Gaza,[88] the region remained in Antigonid hands until 301 BCE. In 301 BCE occurred the Battle of Ipsus and the defeat and death of Antigonus.[89] Even though Ptolemy had not participated in the battle, he demanded and received Phoenicia and Coelê Syria. The Egyptian dynast claimed that in the negotiations that had created the alliance to oppose Antigonus, he had been promised these areas.[90] Seleucus acquiesced "on account of their former friendship."[91] At this time Demetrios, Antigonus' son, still occupied two of the major Phoenician cities, Sidon and Tyre,[92] but these were again under Ptolemy's control by 295/4 BCE.[93]

The last area where Ptolemy showed a sustained interest was the Aegean. Here, as in the case of Cyprus, he finally gained the upper hand after the collapse of Demetrios' rule in Macedonia and the withdrawal of many of that commander's former allies, when he took over the Nesiotic League,[94] which had been established by Antigonus in 313 BCE ostensibly to guarantee the islands independence.[95] This policy was continued by Ptolemy.[96] While the League's guarantee of autonomy is most often seen as disingenuous, a decree issued by the League, perhaps in 280 BCE, praises Ptolemy I for "having liberated the cities, restored their laws, established to all their ancestral constitutions..."[97] His legacy with these Aegean states was, therefore, not then of conqueror but as in the case of Rhodes, Soter.

Other areas only saw Ptolemy's passing interest. In these and to a degree also in the others, Ptolemy's primary concern was to undermine his rivals' grander ambitions. With respect to Asia Minor he did attempt to establish garrisons in certain coastal cities in Cilicia, Caria,[98] and Lycia. Ptolemy may have acquired much of the latter briefly

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86 Diod. 18.73.2.
87 Diod. 19.58.1–4.
88 Diod. 19.83.1–3; Plut. *Demetr*. 5.1–3; Just. 15.1.7.
89 Plut. *Demetr*. 28–30.1; *Pyrrh*. 4.4; Diod. 21.2, 4b; App. *Syr*. 55; Just. 15.2.16–17, 4.21–2; Polyb. 5.67.8.
90 Polyb. 5.67.8–10.
91 Diod. 21.1.5.
92 Cf. Plut. *Demetr*. 22.9.
93 Hölbl 2001, 23.
94 Hammond and Walbank 1988, 228 n. 2, 232; Anson 2014, 181–2.
95 *IG* XI 2.1542, 4.1036; Billows 1990, 118; Anson 2014, 139.
96 Andrew Meadows (2013, 19–38) argues that the League was the creation of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Even with the dearth of evidence, there are sufficient indications that this was a policy initiated by Antigonus and subsequently continued under the aegis of Ptolemy I (Billows 1990, 118; Anson 2014, 139–40).
97 *Syll*.3 390. Meadows (2011, 28) argues that the general reference is to the "entire Greek world" is a piece of "generalized propaganda," and, therefore, cannot be taken as evidence for the Nesiotic League being taken over by Ptolemy I. Even given the vagueness of the Greek, these are delegates of the islanders who wish to acknowledge Ptolemy Soter's benefactions to them as reasons for their enthusiastic endorsement of the celebration in Alexandria in honor of the first Ptolemaic ruler of Egypt.
98 Cf. Diod. 20.37.2.

in 309 BCE,[99] and in 310 BCE he did occupy many of the cities in Cilicia Trachea.[100] His hold on these, however, was brief. In the case of those in Cilicia not lasting out a full year,[101] and in Lycia, certainly ending with Demetrios' victory at Salamis. Ptolemy's occupation was always in opposition to their being held by Antigonus[102] and most often tied in some fashion to his stated desire to "free the Greeks." Moreover, these areas were never claimed by him in any of the peace settlements.[103]

As with respect to Asia Minor, so also with the Greek mainland, while Ptolemy made forays into Greece, he acquired no territory that he retained for any substantial period of time, nor did he ever demand these as part of any settlement. In 308 BCE, he acquired Sicyon and Corinth and garrisoned both.[104] His acquisition was unusual. With the death of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, in 313 BCE, his wife, Cratesipolis, took control of her husband's army and established her rule over these two cities, the possessions of her former husband.[105] The widow surrendered these to Ptolemy,[106] perhaps, in hopes that he would add her to his many wives.[107] He did not. During this expedition to the Greek mainland, Ptolemy also acquired the city of Megara.[108] Ptolemy had called on the Greek cities to join him in what would have amounted to a war of liberation as part of his ongoing struggle with the other Diadochs, but when the Greeks did not rush to his banner, he patched things up with Cassander then in control of Macedonia, and, perhaps, hearing of Antigonus' return from Babylon, returned home to Egypt.[109] Sicyon remained in Ptolemaic hands until "liberated" by Demetrios in 303 BCE.[110] Prior to the fall of Sicyon, Corinth is found in the control of Prepelaus, a commander in the employ of Cassander.[111] Brian Bosworth saw this episode in an entirely different light. He associated Ptolemy's interest in Greece with the demise of the Argead family and the attempt of Cleopatra to seek a marriage with the Egyptian dynast, and all as a prelude to Ptolemy's seeking the throne of Macedonia.[112] Ian Worthington (2016, 151) adds that Ptolemy's attempt to "bring back the League of Corinth[113] … shows that he wanted to be king of Macedonia." While this scenario is possible, it is not

[99] Diod. 20.27.1–2; Wörrle 1977, 43–66.
[100] Diod. 20.19.4.
[101] Diod. 20.19.5.
[102] Diod. 20.19.3, 27.1.
[103] Diod. 20.19.3–4.
[104] Diod. 20.37.2.
[105] Diod. 19.67.1–2; cf. Diod. 20.37.1; Anson 2014, 136.
[106] Diod. 20.37.1; Polyaen. 8.58.
[107] Mahaffy 1895, 48; Carney 2000, 229.
[108] D. L. 2. 115; Hauben 2014, 254.
[109] Diod. 20.37.2. The lack of success was likely coupled with news that Antigonus had returned from the East (Wheatley 2002, 39–47).
[110] Diod. 20.102.2.
[111] Diod. 20.103.1.
[112] Bosworth 2000, 238–9. A similar suggestion was made by Hammond in 1988 (Hammond and Walbank 1988, 166–9), but included the assumption that Alexander IV was still alive. Walter Ellis (1994, 46) believes that this ambition, if true, must have been "a short-lived aberration."
[113] Recreating the League is not specifically mentioned, but it is a possibility.

probable. Diodorus (20.37.1–2) makes no mention of such an ambition and along with the *Suda* (Δημήτριος) states that this expedition was to free the Greeks. Also, it would appear strange that such an ambition would begin and subsequently fail in the Peloponnesus.[114] The *Suda* associates this incident with an alliance with Demetrios, the son of Antigonus. The express purpose of this agreement was to liberate Greek states in order to protect their own possessions. The *Suda* further states that the agreement did not last long. Ptolemy's actions here appear more in line with an attempt to limit Cassander's growing power. That individual was after all the ruler of Macedonia, with a considerable presence in Greece and a much wider ambition.[115]

Ptolemy's interest in Asia Minor and the Greek mainland was fleeting at best. As noted, these were never part of his demands in any settlement of hostilities with his fellow Diadochs. His interest in southern, coastal, Asia Minor may simply have been tied to maintaining Egypt's trade routes in the Aegean and providing harbors for the Ptolemaic fleet.[116] Ptolemy also never expressed any interest in possessing his homeland of Macedonia or in lands east of Thapsacus. After Antigonus' return to the West in 314 BCE, at the conclusion of the Second Diadoch War, Ptolemy demanded Syria from his erstwhile ally,[117] but made no claims on Asia Minor or Greece. It was his ally in this particular war, Cassander, who made demands for parts of Asia Minor. The Third Diadoch War ended with a general understanding that the parties would retain what they held at the start of the war.[118] With the conclusion of the Fourth Diadoch War, once again Ptolemy only demanded Phoenicia and Coelê Syria as compensation.[119]

The question then becomes was this absence of any real evidence of desire for these distant areas due to circumstances and caution, or to a limited purpose. The evidence suggests that Ptolemy was different in his aspirations from so many of the other Diadochs. Support for his desire to hold the empire intact as Alexander's heir is nonexistent. He turned down the regency when offered, which easily might be part of that caution Alexander Meeus claims, but from the very beginning Ptolemy's efforts were not in the interests of unity, nor early on very cautious either. His proposal of a ruling council would only have encouraged the empire's breakup. His concentration was always on Egypt. In his foreign policy in many ways Ptolemy followed what had been the typical foreign policy of independent Egypt, which was to control the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, from which most of the invasions of Egypt originated.

114 Edouard Will (1964, 322–3) may be correct that the purpose of the entire expedition to Greece was to prevent Ophellas, Ptolemy's rebellious general in command of Cyrene, from recruiting mercenaries from Greece. The agreement with Demetrios may even have been an attempt to keep Antigonid forces from Ptolemaic allies on Cyprus and in the Aegean. If it was the latter, it was most ineffective.

115 In the spring of 314 BCE, Cassander had demanded that Antigonus surrender Cappadocia and Lydia to him (Diod. 19.57.1–2); in the winter of 313 he sent an army into Caria (Anson 2014, 138–9).

116 Hauben 2014, 245.

117 Diod. 19.57.1; App. *Syr*. 53. Syria here encompasses the entire eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean. Laomedon had been awarded this satrapy, established by Alexander, in the Babylonian settlement (Diod. 18.3.1).

118 Anson 2014, 148–9.

119 Polyb. 5.67.8–10.

Ptolemy clearly knew the strengths of Egypt. He did not choose to meet Perdiccas in open battle and certainly had no intention of meeting him outside the confines of Egypt. Indeed, on several occasions he demonstrated a clear reluctance to take on any of the major contenders for power personally outside of his natural fortress. Seleucus had to encourage him to engage Demetrios at Gaza,[120] and once he heard that Antigonus had returned to the area, the Egyptian dynast quickly fled back to Egypt.[121] Prior to the Battle of Ipsus, on the rumor that Antigonus was approaching, Ptolemy turned back and failed to appear as his allies Lysimachus and Seleucus had expected.[122] His contribution to what had been the general defensive strategy of Egypt was to neutralize the Aegean, most often fostering autonomy amongst the island states. Keeping the Aegean states autonomous would also have defensive implications, since most successful attacks on Egypt had involved the use of a fleet. All of Ptolemy's actions outside of Egypt can be tied to a determination to make Egypt safe and his control of this rich country secure. Ptolemy worked to win over those under his authority,[123] especially establishing close ties with the various Egyptian priesthoods and had accepted all the traditional trappings of pharaoh.[124] As Catharine Lorber relates in this volume, even his monetary policy centered on Egypt. In the final analysis, the claim that, at least with respect to Ptolemy I, Ptolemaic foreign policy and military activities were to create "a fence of client states" to protect Egypt is not far from the mark. His actions reflected the traditional economic interests of Egypt and a desire to forestall his many Diadoch competitors from dangerously expanding their horizons. The Egyptian satrap and later king's goal from the time of the death of the great Conqueror had been to dismember the empire and secure possession of what he must have considered its jewel, Egypt. Once these goals were achieved the adventurous actions of the First Diadoch War gave way to Ptolemy's more cautious ones of subsequent years. His goal was attained; his primary ambition achieved. Egypt was secured and Perdiccas was dead, and the united empire of Alexander an increasingly distant memory.

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120 Diod. 19.80.3.
121 Diod. 19.93.6.
122 Diod. 20.113.2.
123 Diod. 18.14.1; Just. 13.6.18–19.
124 Müller 2009, 172–5.

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Chapter 3

Building a Dynasty: The Families of Ptolemy I Soter

Sheila Ager

> How outstanding among women of sense was renowned Berenike, a great boon to her parents. The controller of Cyprus, the powerful daughter of Dione, pressed her delicate hands upon Berenike's fragrant breast; thus they say that no woman has ever yet so pleased her husband as Ptolemy [I] loved his wife. Indeed he was much more loved in return. This is how one might with confidence entrust the whole house to one's children when going with love to the bed of a loving wife; the mind of a woman without affection is, however, always elsewhere, and for her giving birth is a light matter, and the children do not resemble the father. Supreme in the contest of beauty, queen among goddesses, Aphrodite, to your heart was this woman dear.
>
> This man [Ptolemy II], alone of men of the past and of those whose still warm footprints mark the trodden dust, has established fragrant shrines to his loving mother and father; within, he has set them glorious in gold and ivory to bring aid to all upon the earth. Many are the fattened thighs of cattle that he burns upon the bloodied altars as the passage of months proceeds, both he and his noble partner [Arsinoë II], than whom no better wife embraces her young husband in the halls, loving with all her heart her brother and her husband. In this manner too was accomplished the sacred marriage of the immortals whom Queen Rhea bore as kings of Olympos: it is one bed that Iris, to this day a virgin, prepares for Zeus and Hera, when she has cleansed her hands with perfumes
>
> (Theokritos *Idyll* 17 – the encomium of Ptolemy II Philadelphos – lines 34–46 and 121–34; translation Hunter 2003 (slightly modified)).

So writes the poet Theokritos, celebrating Ptolemy II Philadelphos and the unity and amity of the Ptolemaic family. As well he might, given that by the time he penned these words, perhaps around the mid-270s BCE, most of Ptolemy I Soter's other children were dead or lost to history.[1] No one remained to threaten the stability

[1] Hunter 2003, 3–8 points out that the circumstances of this *Idyll* reflect a time when Arsinoë II was alive and

of Philadelphos' dynastic infrastructure or to bring up inconvenient memories of rebellion and murder around the family dinner table.[2]

Ptolemy I Soter used his many children as a means of forging alliances abroad and creating his own dynasty at home in Egypt. Family harmony became a signature of the Ptolemaic dynasty, but the sources indicate that mutual amity was not in fact typical of Soter's children or of his relationship with them. Daniel Ogden has identified the phenomenon of "amphimetric strife" among the Hellenistic dynasties – the rivalry between children of the same father and different mothers – and Soter's extended families provide multiple examples.[3] This chapter explores the challenges the first Ptolemy faced in creating a dynastic image *ab initio* and consolidating a line that was begun long before he ever became king.

In the decades after the death of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy and the other Successors engaged in a series of marriage alliances. These marriages were meant to serve a strategic end, and the military and political maneuvering of these years is reflected in the shifting matrimonial patterns: so, for example, Ptolemy, Krateros, Perdikkas, Lysimachos, and Demetrios each married a daughter of Antipatros.[4] The political marriages contracted by the Successors gained additional meaning with the deaths of the last male Argeads, Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV. Starting in 306/5 BCE, Antigonos, Demetrios, Ptolemy, Seleukos, Lysimachos, and Kassandros declared themselves kings.[5] Since a foundational principle of monarchy was blood succession, the offspring of these political marriages now took on a dynastic significance.[6]

Royal marriage throughout history has been a cause for celebration and a symbol of peace, prosperity, and dynastic continuity, but the starkest message that comes out of the period of the wars of the Diadochoi is that of political advantage.[7] It is revealing to read the chaos, confusion, and uncertainties of the years after Alexander's death through the lens of the mad marriage games. The tool of the marriage alliance provided only temporary – often fleeting – advantages. It was never a long-term

married to Ptolemy II; Carney 2013, 63 suggests that Arsinoë did not return to Egypt until about 276 BCE, where she died in 270 or 268 BCE.

2 We do not know the fate of Ptolemy I's children by Thaïs, who would have had to be at least in their fifties by this point, and who in any case seem not to have shared in the rivalry that divided Soter's two Macedonian families. All of his sons by Eurydike were dead (again, we do not know the ultimate fate of Eurydike's daughters Lysandra and Ptolemaïs), and the royal family in this period was presented as consisting solely of the three offspring of Ptolemy and Berenike: Ptolemy II, Arsinoë II, and Philotera.

3 Ogden 1999.

4 Seibert 1967, 11–9; Heckel 1989.

5 Gruen 1985. The ancient sources connect the assumption of the royal title to the Antigonid success at the Battle of Salamis in 306, with Antigonos and Demetrios being the first to proclaim themselves kings (Diod. 20.53; Plut. *Demetr*. 18; App. *Syr*. 54, 276; *P. Köln* VI 247 [Lehmann 1988]). Huß points out that the literary sources compress events to such an extent that they cannot be relied upon for an exact chronology of when the other Successors took the title of *basileus*; in Egypt, the documentary evidence suggests a date in early 304 BCE for Ptolemy's assumption of the title (Huß 2001, 191). Caneva 2016, 68–71 prefers to see Ptolemy's *basileus* claim as appearing only after the successful defence of Rhodes; likewise Carney 2013, 14, and see also O'Neil 2000; cf. Meeus 2014.

6 Seibert 1967; Billows 1995; O'Neil 2000.

7 On royal weddings in the Hellenistic age see Ager 2017.

solution to any rivalry or conflict, nor was it a permanent safeguard against ambition and hostility. If marriage alliances had actually functioned in this way, there would be little to talk about in the Diadoch period at all, since everybody was eventually bound by blood or marriage to everybody else.

Ogden and others have successfully demonstrated – against generations of older scholarship – that the immediate Successors of Alexander, like Alexander himself and his father Philip II, practised polygamy.[8] There is thus no need for us to assume that these men had to divorce one wife in order to marry another, or that the women attached to them were arranged in a rigid hierarchy that clearly distinguished between "wife" (singular) and "mistress" (often very plural). Naturally, there were some kings who were associated with women who were not their wives – the courtesans of Ptolemy II were famous (or infamous)[9] – but in many cases, it is next to impossible for us to establish such a clear status distinction.[10] Both polygamy and status ambiguity have an impact on the question of the "legitimacy" of children from these unions, and it is one of the benefits of the newer approach to the dynastic formulations of Hellenistic royalty that we no longer need be as concerned about seeking some kind of absolute stamp of either legitimacy or bastardy. The Successors were involved in an unprecedented and fluid situation where they were the ones breaking, shaping, and making the rules.

Royal polygamy reduces the status and the power of individual women, in part because their claims to recognition as the king's wife are not exclusive, and in part because they cannot be guaranteed that their children will inherit the throne. In a polygamous household, the arrival of each new wife must have shuffled the pieces, leaving all players anxious as to how the game would turn out.[11] Murders committed (or alleged to have been committed) by royal Hellenistic women were more often than not motivated by polygamous rivalry – the amphimetric strife identified by Ogden – and it may often have felt like a case of kill or be killed.[12] In the Egyptian pharaonic tradition, one woman could be clearly elevated as "king's principal wife," but there is no evidence that Ptolemy I (the only clearly polygamous Ptolemy) pursued that

[8] Ogden 1999; see also Greenwalt 1989; Carney 2013, 2–6; van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a. The views of earlier scholars, especially of the Victorian era, who tried to insist on serial monogamy, were naturally colored by the *mores* of their own time (Grace Macurdy, interestingly, recognized that "polygamy was not unusual among the Successors"; 1932, 61). To be fair to those scholars, many of the ancient sources (such as Plutarch) often balked at polygamy as well.

[9] See Kosmetatou 2004; Ogden 2008.

[10] The fact that the Greek word γυνή means both "woman" and "wife" contributes to this ambiguity.

[11] Cf. Greenwalt 1989, 37. Polygamous structures at a royal Hellenistic court need not have necessitated all the wives living together, as envisioned by Worthington 2016, 112.

[12] Olympias, the mother of Alexander, accounts for a significant proportion of such murders. Both Grace Macurdy 1932, 3, 85 and Elizabeth Carney 2013, 5 comment on the fact that allegedly murderous behavior by Hellenistic queens was often driven by security considerations.

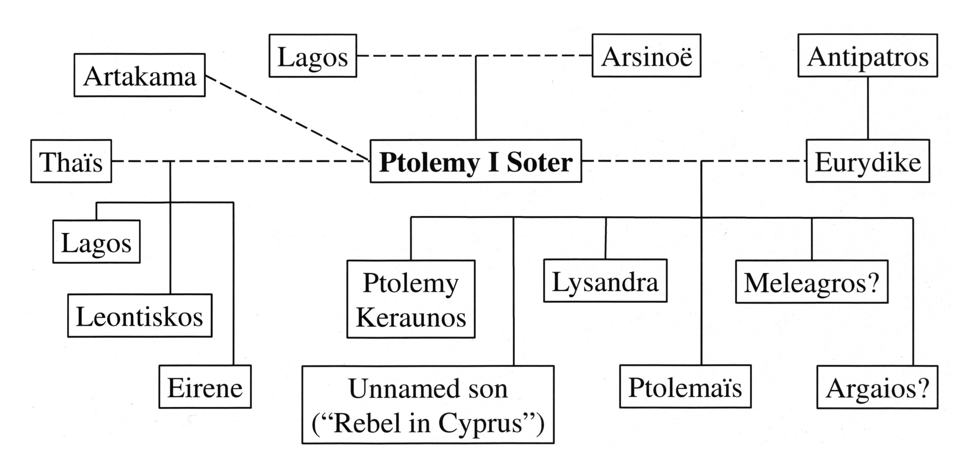


Fig. 3.1. The women and children of Ptolemy I

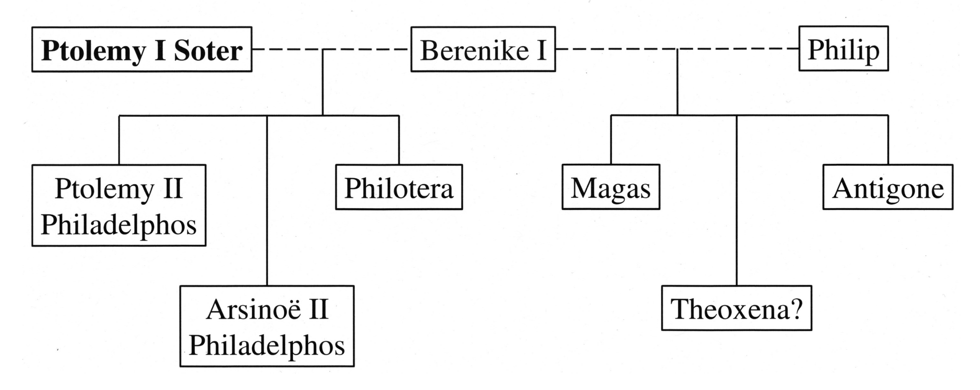


Fig. 3.2. The husbands and children of Berenike I

particular tradition.[13] Moreover, the king's heir was usually but not necessarily the son of the king's principal wife.[14]

Ptolemy I Soter sired as many as a dozen children with at least three different women: his concubine (probably wife), the Athenian courtesan Thaïs (Plut. *Alex.* 38.2; Ath. 576e); his first Macedonian wife, Eurydike, the daughter of Antipatros (Paus. 1.6.8, 1.7.1, 1.9.7; Plut. *Demetr*. 46.3); and Eurydike's kinswoman Berenike, who was the mother of his heir Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Theok. *Id.* 17; Paus. 1.6.8) (see Figs. 3.1 and 3.2).[15]

The Athenian Thaïs was the mother of Ptolemy's first known children: Lagos (named in traditional fashion for Ptolemy's own father, and no doubt the eldest son),

[13] Robins 1993, 23.
[14] Watterson 1991, 148; Robins 1993, 41.
[15] On royal polygamy and Soter's household, see Carney 2013, 17–22.

Leontiskos, and Eirene.[16] Thaïs had accompanied the Asian expedition of Alexander, and in the vulgate tradition was more famously known for having urged Alexander, at a drunken party, to burn the Persian capital of Persepolis in the spring of 330 BCE.[17] It has often been assumed that Thaïs' presence on the campaign and her free and frank address to Alexander at the drinking party mean that she was Alexander's courtesan, and only afterwards took up with Ptolemy.[18] Curtius calls her a drunken whore (*ebrio scorto*; 5.7.4), but he does not state explicitly that she had at any point been attached to Alexander himself, whose own mistress Barsine was at the time still accompanying the expedition.[19] Kleitarchos also blames Thaïs for the burning of the palace, but the Kleitarchos passage referenced in Athenaeus does not in fact say that she was Alexander's *hetaira*, though it is often read this way; it is Athenaeus' speaker who makes the assumption, and who states that it was after Alexander's death that Ptolemy married her.[20] Plutarch's source certainly indicated that Thaïs was already Ptolemy's mistress at the time of the burning of Persepolis in 330 BCE. The (probable) ages of Thaïs' and Ptolemy's children are an important factor in calculating the time frame for Ptolemy's relationship with her; they will be discussed further below. For now let it be said that I believe it likely that Thaïs was with Ptolemy from the beginning of the expedition, and that she may well have married him at some point prior to Alexander's death rather than after it.[21] Thaïs was an Athenian: one might speculate that she and Ptolemy could have met during the few months when he was in exile from Macedon in 336 BCE.

If Ptolemy and Thaïs were already married before 324 BCE, his marriage at the mass wedding in Susa was his first polygamous union, as it was Alexander's. Ptolemy married Artakama (or Apame), the daughter of the Persian noble Artabazos.[22] We hear nothing more about her, and it has often been assumed (and continues to be assumed)

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[16] It is noteworthy that someone evidently thought Thais' children were important enough to record their names.

[17] Diod. 17.72; Plut. *Alex.* 38; Arr. *Anab.* 3.18.11–12; Curt. 5.7.1–11; Ath. 576d-e; cf. Strabo 15.3.6. Thaïs is not mentioned in Arrian's account; given that Ptolemy was one of Arrian's chief sources, this is not surprising. On Thaïs' role, see McClure 2003, 157–58.

[18] For the view that Thaïs had a sexual relationship with Alexander see Ogden 2008, 353–55; Carney 2013, 18; van Oppen de Ruiter 2013a, who further argues that Thaïs gave Ptolemy a prestigious link to Alexander and the honor of raising his (Alexander's) bastard son by her, Argaios (van Oppen acknowledges that this is a highly speculative conjecture).

[19] On Barsine see Heckel 2006, 70. Barsine's presence does not mean that Alexander could not have had sexual relationships with other women; on the other hand, Alexander's reputation for relative sexual restraint might suggest that a multiplicity of lovers was not quite his style. Plutarch claims that Alexander knew no other women before Barsine, a claim we do not need to take very seriously (*Alex.* 21); if he took up with Barsine around 332 BCE (Ogden 2009, 205), he could have had a relationship with Thaïs – or any one of a number of other women – before that point.

[20] *BNJ* 137 F 11 = Ath. 576d. See Bennett *sv* Thaïs *contra* Ogden 2008.

[21] Ogden 1999, 68–9; cf. Carney 2013, 18; Aulbach 2014, 106–7. Van Oppen de Ruiter 2015b suggests the mass Susa nuptials as the time Thaïs and Ptolemy would have been married, but this seems unlikely, given the stature of those weddings.

[22] Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.6. Plutarch calls her Apame (*Eum.* 1); on her name, see Brosius 1996, 78, 185 and van Oppen de Ruiter 2014b, 28.

that she and most of the other Iranian brides were repudiated shortly after Alexander died.[23] Sabine Müller argues that Artakama might even have been an outright liability to Ptolemy in Egypt, where there was a long tradition of hating Persians.[24] However, there is no evidence to suggest that Ptolemy or any of the other Successors divorced their Iranian wives. In a world accepting of polygamy there would be no reason to divorce these women in order to clear the way for new marriages. If the subsequent history of these women remains obscure, it is probably because the Diadochoi found greater advantage in marrying Macedonian women – eventually each other's women – than in preserving and advertising an active tie to a region they did not control. Seleukos I was the exception for obvious reasons. Moreover, a wholesale rejection of these women might actually have been considered an ignoble act by at least some of their contemporaries. Many authors now, including Müller, allow for the possibility that Artakama lived out her life quietly at Ptolemy's court in Alexandria.[25] We know of no children from Ptolemy's marriage to Artakama: if there were any, they clearly were not in the running for the royal inheritance any more than Thaïs' were.

William Tarn was the first to advance the proposition that Ptolemy married an Egyptian bride from a priestly house as soon as he arrived in Egypt as satrap.[26] While some dismiss Tarn's argument as too attenuated,[27] others have allowed for the possibility that Ptolemy did indeed marry an Egyptian wife.[28] If so, one might draw the conclusion that Ptolemy was already thinking in dynastic terms in 323/2 BCE. Yet the subsequent history of Ptolemy's complex families and numerous children suggests that whatever his dynastic ideas and experiments might have consisted of, they apparently did not include a union with a native family or the production of an heir from such a union, as turned out to be the case with Seleukos I. If Ptolemy did indeed marry an Egyptian woman for political purposes, it is striking that he did not exploit the putative advantages of the match by publicizing it more.[29]

Shortly after the death of Perdikkas and the settlement at Triparadeisos in 320 BCE, Ptolemy made his first Macedonian marriage, to Eurydike, the daughter of Antipatros. Among the wives and women of Ptolemy, it is likely, as Elizabeth Carney surmises, that initially at least Eurydike was the most prestigious of Ptolemy's marital unions (measured from a Macedonian perspective).[30] Her father was the grand master of the

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[23] Seibert 1967, 72; O'Neil 2002, 159; Heckel 2006, 55–6; Müller 2009a, 22; 2013, 202, 204; Anson 2014, 147; Worthington 2016, 113; against these assumptions see Meeus 2009b, 236 and van Oppen de Ruiter 2014b. Seleukos I was the single most important exception, making his Iranian bride Apame his queen.

[24] Müller 2013, 204–6.

[25] Ogden 1999, 69; Carney 2013, 19; Müller 2013, 206; van Oppen de Ruiter 2014b.

[26] Tarn 1929.

[27] Ogden 1999, 69; Müller 2013, 206.

[28] Stephens 2003, 14; Carney 2013, 19.

[29] See Müller 2013, 214 note 17; and see Gorre, this volume. Perhaps a marriage to a woman of this class was not in the stars so long as Ptolemy was "merely" a satrap.

[30] Müller 2013, 206 argues that the prominence of both Eurydike and Berenike arose during the reign of Ptolemy II; while it is quite likely that Berenike's son raised his mother's profile significantly, it is hard to see why or how he could be responsible for making Eurydike more prominent. Aside from the bad press on

early Diadoch period, with a political record that went back to the days of Philip II, and her sisters were married to other leading Successors. Her brother Kassandros, with some considerable effort and time, ultimately established himself as ruler of Macedon. Ptolemy named his first son by Eurydike after himself, and for many years, it may have seemed that this youth was to be groomed as his obvious successor.[31] Eurydike also bore Ptolemy another son whose name we do not know, as well as two daughters, Lysandra and Ptolemaïs. She was probably also the mother of Meleagros, and may have been the mother of Argaios.[32]

When Antipatros sent Eurydike to Egypt to marry Ptolemy, he sent along with her his great-niece Berenike, a widow with perhaps three young children.[33] Ptolemy began a relationship with Berenike soon after her arrival: by 300, their daughter Arsinoë was old enough to be married to Lysimachos. We do not know when Ptolemy actually married Berenike: perhaps right away or perhaps only after she had begun to bear him children. That he did marry her at some point is next to certain, but our sources on the matter are actually quite thin and ambiguous. Plutarch records that, when Pyrrhos of Epeiros was in Alexandria in 298 BCE, he found Berenike to be foremost among Ptolemy's "wives" (*Pyrr.* 4.4). The term he employs (γυναικῶν) does regularly mean "wives," but it is also the generic term for "women," and could equally mean Ptolemy's women, both wives and concubines. As for the lost inscription from Naples, in which Berenike is called *basilissa* – the argument being that only legitimate wives and daughters bore the title of *basilissa* – the inscription is highly curious, even suspect. It is moreover impossible to date with accuracy.[34] Nevertheless, the assumption that Ptolemy married Berenike, perhaps quite soon after her arrival, is almost certainly a

Ptolemy Keraunos (which the latter at least some of the time deserved), Ptolemy II's propaganda mostly ignored Eurydike and her line (aside from the "old idea" that the unfaithful woman of Theokritos' *Idyll* 17 was supposed to represent Eurydike: Hunter 2003, 131–32).

31 Ogden 1999, 69; Carney 2013, 20–3.

32 Ogden 1999, 69. Heckel 1989, 33 thinks Argaios was probably a son of Berenike or another unknown woman.

33 *Sch.* Theok. *Id.* 17.61; Paus. 1.6.8, 1.7.1; Just. 23.2.6. By her deceased husband Philip, Berenike had a son named Magas and a daughter named Antigone; she may also have been the mother of Theoxena, who married Agathokles of Syracuse (Ogden 1999, 70; Heckel 2006, 71; Carney 2013, 20).

34 *OGIS* 14 = *IG* XIV 727a: βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου (it is clear that Naples was not the original location of the stone). Most curious is why or when Stratonike, the daughter of Demetrios I, would have put up a statue dedicated to Arsinoë II. See Ogden 1999, 70; van Oppen de Ruiter 2011, 87; Carney 2013, 150 n. 60. Dittenberger dated the inscription to around 299 BCE, the time of Arsinoë's marriage to Lysimachos, but Bagnall 1976 puts it *ca.* 279–270 BCE(drawing the parallel with *OGIS* 27, where Berenike is also called *basilissa*); *IG* XIV simply puts it in the lifetime of Arsinoë II (between *ca.* 316 and 270 BCE). On the argument that only wives and daughters could be termed *basilissai*, it is worth noting that Alexander's quondam friend Harpalos allowed (encouraged?) people to address his courtesan Glykera by this title (Ath. 586c = Theopompos *BNJ* 115 F 254a; Ogden 1999, 231; cf. Carney 2013, 95); but see Carney 1991, 158. It should also be pointed out, in the context of competition between Berenike and Eurydike, that the fact that Berenike was called *basilissa* does not prove that Eurydike was not; Ptolemaic titulature did not reserve the term for a single "Queen." Berenike is also called *basilissa* on the Cyrenean coinage bearing her image that was minted by her son Magas (Mørkholm 1991, 101–2 and fig. 287; Lorber 2014, 139 and fig. 48).

safe one to make. Berenike bore Ptolemy at least three children: Arsinoë II, Philotera and Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[35]

Older (and many not so old) readings of Ptolemy's household(s), colored by the viewpoint that monogamy is naturally superior to polygamy and ignoring the polygamous model of the Argeads, have tended to make the following set of assumptions: 1) that Ptolemy divorced his Persian wife Artakama as soon as Alexander died; 2) that he never married Thaïs and/or that she somehow simply vanished from his life (in spite of the fact that her children are to be found as part of his court many years later); 3) that the marriage with Eurydike was purely political and there was no love lost on either side; and 4) that he eventually repudiated Eurydike for the true love of his life, Berenike, who had initially been only his mistress.

These analyses tend to rest their assessment of the inheritance puzzle on two further assumptions: 1) that Soter was actually so besotted with Berenike that she was able to manipulate him into nominating her son as his heir; and 2) that Ptolemy Keraunos exhibited his future character as "a violent and vicious man whose life was stained with horrid crime" from the time he was a young boy, and that it was this that influenced his father against him.[36] But aside from confused allegations on Memnon's part that Keraunos was somehow involved in the death of Lysimachos' son Agathokles, our first evidence for nasty behavior on his part is the murder of Seleukos in 281 BCE after Koroupedion; we do not really know that Keraunos spent his childhood pulling the wings off flies.[37] As for Soter, he had some experience in ruthless manipulation himself, as we shall see, and the conclusion that he was easy prey for a calculating wife seems too facile. Much of the cultural evidence for the great love affair of Ptolemy and Berenike springs from the propaganda of their son Ptolemy Philadelphos after their deaths.[38] Ptolemy's love for Berenike need not prove that he could be manipulated by her against his own better judgement. Indeed, Theokritos implies that Berenike loved Ptolemy more than Ptolemy loved Berenike, although that might just be a case of trying to protect Soter from the embarrassing suspicion that he had been an old

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[35] No source states that Berenike had *only* three children by Soter, so the possibility remains that she might have been the mother of Argaios (unlikely, given Philadelphos' hostility towards him) or that Theoxena, rather than being a daughter of Berenike and her first husband Philip, was actually a daughter of Berenike and Ptolemy.

[36] Macurdy 1932, 103. Not all of these interpretations are from older scholarship: for example, Ian Worthington's 2016 biography of Ptolemy I sees the persuasion of Berenike as instrumental in Ptolemy's choice of heir (115, 201); cf. also Hölbl 2001, 24; Huß 2001, 249; Buraselis 2005; Caroli 2007, 106.

[37] Memnon *BNJ* 434 F 1.5.6; if a Ptolemy was involved in the death of Agathokles, it was most probably Ptolemy the eldest son of Lysimachos and Arsinoë. See Carney 2013, 44, 154 note 63 for further references. Purely from the perspective of amphimetric rivalry, it is hard to see why Keraunos would choose to benefit his half-sister Arsinoë (by murdering her sons' rival) to the detriment of his full sister Lysandra's interests (by murdering her husband); see Heinen 1972, 7–10.

[38] See Müller 2009a; Caneva 2016, 166–67. The coins of Judah bearing Soter's portrait on the obverse and Berenike's on the reverse, once thought to be issued during the reign of Ptolemy I, have been assigned by Gitler and Lorber to the early years of Philadelphos' reign (Gitler and Lorber 2006).

man tied to the apron strings of a sexy young wife, the very suspicion that scholars have seized on as a solution to the inheritance puzzle.[39]

Appian states specifically that Keraunos' motivation for leaving Egypt was fear once the choice of heir was finally made; he probably took his full brother Meleagros with him, which suggests Meleagros may also have had cause to fear.[40] There is no particular reason to suppose that it was their father they feared, and that Keraunos was right to fear his youngest brother is demonstrated by the fact that Philadelphos, after their father's death, murdered his half-brother Argaios, who may also have been Eurydike's child. There was little familial loyalty left to go around with his remaining half-brothers: both Magas, who was ruling in Cyrene, and the unnamed son of Eurydike who was in Cyprus rebelled against Philadelphos, who succeeded at least in killing the Rebel in Cyprus (Paus. 1.7.1).[41] In spite of Philadelphos' portrayal of a smooth transition of power from his loving parents, it was actually a bit of a slaughterhouse.[42] Of course, none of this is to absolve Keraunos of his own healthy helping of ambition, as his subsequent career shows all too clearly.

One of the complicating factors in assessing the dynamics of Soter's families is that we do not really know when Keraunos left Egypt. Some scholars suggest that he left along with his mother Eurydike – the usual date given is 287 BCE – because of the supposed insult involved in her alleged repudiation.[43] We know that Eurydike was at Miletos in Asia Minor in 286 BCE, having escorted her daughter Ptolemaïs there so that she could marry Demetrios I Poliorketes (Plut. *Demetr.* 46.3). The conclusion drawn by some is that Eurydike was there because she had left Egypt permanently and that Keraunos may have accompanied her. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the sources to suggest either that Eurydike's presence at her daughter's wedding was because she had gone into exile (self-imposed or not), or that Keraunos was with her

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39 *Id.* 17.40. Ptolemy was probably born in 367/6 BCE (see Heckel, this volume) and would have been about fifty by the time he began his relationship with Berenike.

40 Appian *Syr* 62. It is not certain that Meleagros was Eurydike's son, but it seems likely. Pausanias 1.10.4 says that after the murder of Agathokles, Lysandra fled to Seleukos with her brothers (plural), which would seem to suggest both Keraunos and Meleagros (Huß 2001, 256). Meleagros succeeded Keraunos as king in Macedon in 279 BCE, but was only on the throne for two months before being forced to abdicate (Porph. *BNJ* 260 F 3.10).

41 Paus. 1.7.1; there is no need to assume from the order of Pausanias' recital of events that the deaths of Argaios and the Rebel in Cyprus postdated Philadelphos' marriage to Arsinoë II (e.g. Ogden 1999, 75).

42 Diogenes Laertios may imply that Philadelphos also brought about the death of Demetrios of Phaleron, who had advised Soter to make Keraunos his heir (5.78–79).

43 Most scholars specify 287 BCE as the year when Eurydike arrived in Miletos, but the dating of Demetrios' siege of Athens and his subsequent departure for Asia places the marriage to Ptolemaïs in 286 BCE. Some years later (280–279 BCE), Keraunos gave his mother a home in Kassandreia (Polyainos 6.7.2); we do not know what happened to her after Keraunos' death. Van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a, 164 believes that Eurydike did not leave Egypt to join Keraunos until after the death of Ptolemy I "rather than live out her life in the shade at Alexandria" (but surely the enmity displayed by Philadelphos towards his half-siblings would have been a more compelling reason for her to leave Alexandria, if she had not already done so). Bagnall 1976, 205 thinks that Ptolemy's favoring of Berenike and her children had become open and obvious by 290 BCE and that when Eurydike took Ptolemaïs to marry Demetrios she took the rest of her children as well, and stayed on with her daughter and son-in-law, eventually ending up at the court of Seleukos. See also Billows 1995, 4; Caroli 2007, 105 and 359; Anson 2014, xv and 183; Worthington 2016, 201.

at the time. Soter must surely have approved this marriage: it is hard to believe that he would have been indifferent to Ptolemaïs' marital fate, when his other daughters proved to be so politically useful to him. One might also ask why Demetrios would bother marrying Ptolemaïs if she represented a line that had been repudiated by her powerful father and was now in exile (then again, Demetrios was not overly choosy when it came to brides).[44]

A more convincing date that has been suggested for Keraunos' departure from Egypt is around 285/4 BCE, at the time when his father indicated that he had finally made his choice of heir by appointing his youngest son Philadelphos his co-regent.[45] This suggestion has the support of Appian's testimony, and it seems a reasonable conjecture. Could Keraunos still have been in Egypt at the time of Ptolemy I's death early in 282 BCE? It is highly unlikely. Philadelphos certainly was co-ruler by the time of Soter's death, and Keraunos, as we saw, was wise to leave town. Furthermore, Keraunos, after his departure from Egypt, went to the court of his father's old friend Lysimachos, where he was present for the familial disasters that ultimately brought an end to the latter's dynasty. Since this drama was unfolding already by the winter of 283/2 BCE, I think it likely that Keraunos was already there – or even already at the court of Seleukos – by the time of his father's death.[46]

To return for a moment to the marriage to Berenike: since it brought no discernible political benefits to Soter, I am drawn back to the sentimental interpretation of history after all. He simply married her because he was in love with her.[47] And because he could: a polygamous king need have no concern about adding another woman to his ménage. In fact, Branko van Oppen de Ruiter has speculated that Antipatros sent Berenike along with Eurydike in the hope that Ptolemy would marry them both.[48] Such a possibility cannot be excluded, though if so, it would suggest a rather cold indifference on Antipatros' part to the prestige of his daughter and the security of her own dynastic interests.

Being in love with Berenike, however, would not have prevented Ptolemy I from having other wives and having children from those wives, any more than it necessitates a vision of an aging Ptolemy subject to the wiles of his scheming young wife. The general consensus now is that Soter married Eurydike shortly after the settlement of Triparadeisos in late summer or fall 320 BCE; van Oppen de Ruiter argues that Eurydike (and Berenike) could not have reached Egypt until the spring of 319 BCE.[49] Arsinoë II, the daughter of Ptolemy and Berenike, was probably born no later

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[44] Cf. van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a, 161, 164.

[45] Carney 2013, 42; on the chronological problems, see Carney 2013, 154 note 55. February/March 284: van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a, 163. There is no room here to discuss Hazzard's contention that the co-regency was a later invention of Ptolemy II (1987); if so, that might have an impact on our assessment of when Keraunos left Egypt. He was certainly in Lysimachos' kingdom no later than 283 BCE in any case.

[46] Heinen 1972, 19; Anson 2014, xv.

[47] See also Ogden 1999, 70; Carney 2013, 21–2 (*int. al.*).

[48] Van Oppen de Ruiter 2011, 2015a.

[49] Seibert 1967, 17; Huß 2001, 121; Müller 2009a, 22; van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a, 155. On the date of Triparadeisos,

than 314 BCE.[50] If Ptolemy repudiated Eurydike before taking up with Berenike, as many scholars have thought, then Eurydike would have had a scant five-year window in which to produce definitely four and perhaps as many as six children.

It is much more believable that Eurydike and Berenike were simultaneously wives of Ptolemy, and that some of Eurydike's children were actually younger than Arsinoë. This would be particularly the case if Arsinoë was born as early as 318 BCE, as Carney speculates.[51] Eurydike's daughters Lysandra and Ptolemaïs did not enter the marriage market until after Arsinoë, and there is no reason to accept the older explanations that this was because Arsinoë, as a daughter of Berenike, was the preferred or higher-prestige daughter. We have little to go on in determining Eurydike's own age, other than that she does not appear to have been previously married, whereas her two sisters, Phila and Nikaia, were married to Krateros and Perdikkas (respectively) before marrying Demetrios and Lysimachos.[52] Krateros and Perdikkas both outranked Ptolemy at the time of Alexander's death, and Antipatros may well have favored them with his elder daughters. Eurydike would thus be the youngest.[53] Indeed, she may actually have been younger than Berenike, who had already been married and produced children by the time they came to Egypt. In any case, even if we suppose Eurydike was already as old as twenty when she married Ptolemy and began bearing children around 319 BCE, she could still have been bearing them as late as 300 BCE and beyond. If Ptolemaïs was born in (say) 305 BCE or so, it would explain why she was betrothed to Demetrios as early as 298/7 BCE, but did not marry him until 286 BCE.

In all likelihood, then, regardless of what his personal feelings for Berenike might be, Soter continued to have a sexual relationship and to produce children with Eurydike after he began his family with Berenike.[54] If so (and it seems almost certain), that would negate the old notion that the conflict between his two Macedonian families arose at an early date out of a deliberate repudiation or divorce of Eurydike.[55]

see Boiy 2007; Anson 2014 (late summer 320); van Oppen de Ruiter argues for late fall.

[50] Thus making her about fourteen or fifteen at the time of her marriage to Lysimachos. Van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a and 2015b argues in favor an even more aggressive schedule that would see princesses potentially married by the age of twelve; while that is not impossible under some circumstances, twelve would be rather early even in Classical Greece (fourteen or fifteen seems to have been more typical; Blundell 1995, 119; Just 1989, 151), and in general (judging at least from the scanty evidence provided by the Argeads), royal Macedonian women tended to be slightly older, not younger, than their classical counterparts when they married (Greenwalt 1988). One might also speculate that there might have been a reluctance to send a daughter away to a foreign court while she was still only in her early teens (as opposed to marrying her to a cousin who lived down the block). Berenike, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphos, must have been at least twenty-three or so by the time she married Antiochos II.

[51] Carney 2013, 11.

[52] Phila had already been married and widowed when she married Krateros; her first marriage may have taken place before 334 BCE (Heckel 1989, 33).

[53] Cf. van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a.

[54] Ogden 1999, 70–1; Carney 2013, 19–23; van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a.

[55] Huß 2001, 121 still thinks in terms of Berenike "displacing" Eurydike (by about 317/6 BCE); Hölbl 2001, 24 (Eurydike was "pushed aside"); and cf. Aulbach 2014, 109, who seems to imply that Eurydike departed Alexandria for Miletos as soon as Ptolemy married Berenike.

Moreover, being in love with Berenike also did not prevent Ptolemy from seeking further marital advantage when the opportunity arose. In 309–308 BCE, Ptolemy mounted a naval expedition that took him to Asia Minor, the Aegean, and ultimately mainland Greece; he was accompanied by the pregnant Berenike, who gave birth to Ptolemy Philadelphos on the island of Kos.[56] Around the same time that Berenike was giving birth to his youngest son, Soter was actively wooing another potential bride: this time, Alexander the Great's widowed sister Kleopatra, who had been living in Sardis for many years under the watchful eye of Antigonos Monophthalmos. The continued symbolic importance of Kleopatra, who was probably in her mid- to late forties by this time, is captured by this passage in Diodorus:

> Meanwhile Kleopatra quarreled with Antigonos and, inclining to cast her lot with Ptolemy, she started from Sardis in order to cross over to him... Because of the distinction of her descent Kassandros and Lysimachos, as well as Antigonos and Ptolemy and in general all the leaders who were most important after Alexander's death, sought her hand; for each of them, hoping that the Macedonians would follow the lead of this marriage, was seeking alliance with the royal house in order thus to gain supreme power for himself (Diod. 20.37.3–4; translation Geer 1954 (slightly modified)).[57]

Both his trip to the Aegean and the attempt to marry Kleopatra should be seen as signs that Ptolemy was testing the waters of further conquest and dominion.[58] Older analyses tended to argue that Ptolemy I and his heirs pursued a policy of defensive imperialism, and that they were content with Egypt and its environs, but more recent work by Alexander Meeus has contended that Ptolemaic ambitions under Soter were larger.[59] Ptolemy I used the memory of Alexander as one way of legitimating his power, and a political marriage to Alexander's sister, the last surviving Argead, would have given him a leg up over the other Successors.[60] All the male Argeads were dead by now – perhaps the murder of Alexander IV had encouraged Ptolemy to extend

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[56] Diod. 20.27, 20.37; Marmor Parium (*FGrH = BNJ* 239) B19; cf. Theokritos *Idyll* 17.58–71 and Kallimachos *Hymn* 4.162–99. Ptolemy's initial campaigns in Cilicia may have been undertaken by the end of 310 BCE; Wheatley 1998, 15.

[57] The usual conjecture is that Kleopatra was beyond child-bearing age by this time; if so, that might actually have been a plus in Ptolemy's mind.

[58] In spite of speculations that Kratesipolis, the widow of Alexander (son of Polyperchon), surrendered the cities of Corinth and Sikyon to Ptolemy in 308 BCE in an expectation that he might marry her, there is no evidence that Ptolemy himself ever contemplated such a marriage (Diod. 19.67, 20.37; Polyainos 8.58; Macurdy 1929; Carney 2000, 229; Anson 2014, 136, and this volume).

[59] See Meeus 2009a and 2014 *contra* (e.g.) Will 1979, 153–208; see also Bosworth 2000; Hauben 2014; Strootman 2014b. For an opposing viewpoint, see Anson, this volume.

[60] Meeus 2009a; 2009b. See Lianou 2014 for a discussion on the evocation of the Argeads by Ptolemy and the other Successors. Like the other Diadochs, Ptolemy issued coinage with Alexander's portrait; he may have been the first of the Successors to issue coinage with his own portrait, beginning around 299 (perhaps even earlier in Judah: Gitler and Lorber 2006, 8). See also Müller 2009b; Lianou 2014, 127; Lorber 2014, 112–15; Lorber, this volume. Bosworth 2000 has convincingly argued that the unhistorical *Liber de morte*, which gives an account of Alexander's final days and the contents of his purported will – including a proviso that Kleopatra marry Ptolemy – was a piece of propaganda produced by Ptolemy himself in the context of the events of 309/8 BCE.

his ambitious campaign into the Aegean and the Greek mainland – and Kleopatra was the last and best link to the Macedonian homeland.[61] Antigonos had Kleopatra murdered to prevent Ptolemy from gaining this advantage; this act too was a sign of how important a figure Kleopatra still was.

We know of no arranged dynastic marriages for any of Ptolemy I's sons, with the exception of his youngest son Philadelphos, who married Arsinoë I, the daughter of Lysimachos, perhaps not until 285 BCE or later. He would have been in his early to mid-twenties at that time, a common age for Macedonian princes to marry.[62] We do know the marital fates of every one of Soter's known daughters, who, with one exception, were all disposed of in exogamous marriages. Without assuming that Ptolemy I himself was responsible for setting up a dynastic system that minimized foreign influence within Egypt, it is interesting to note that this asymmetrical pattern for daughters and sons became a dominant theme in later Ptolemaic history.[63]

One of the great advantages (and disadvantages) of polygamy is that it produces lots of children, and for the purpose of marriage alliances, daughters – who are more dispensable – can be more useful than sons.[64] The rearrangement of the Successor kingdoms in the wake of the Battle of Ipsos in 301 BCE led to another great flurry of marital alliances among the surviving Successors. Soter by now held the greatest number of markers in this game, and he handed out his daughters and his step-daughters like candy. Thaïs' daughter Eirene had already married Eunostos of Soloi in Cyprus, perhaps around 319 BCE.[65] Now, in 300/299 BCE, Berenike's child Arsinoë – Ptolemy's oldest unmarried daughter? – was married to Lysimachos. Perhaps a couple of years later, in 297 BCE, Eurydike's daughter Lysandra was married to her cousin Alexander, the son of Kassandros, the ruler of Macedon. After the death of Alexander and the crash of Kassandros' dynasty, Lysandra married Lysimachos' son and heir-apparent Agathokles, probably around 293 BCE.[66] Berenike's daughters by

[61] Wheatley 1998 argues that Alexander IV was murdered sometime in late 310 or 309 BCE; Herakles, Alexander's son by Barsine, was killed in 308 BCE. See Bosworth 2000 and Lane Fox 2015, 182–3.

[62] Greenwalt 1988; Ogden 1999, 59. Hölbl 2001, 25 thinks it possible Ptolemy II did not marry Arsinoë I until after Soter's death, but by that time Lysimachos' household must have been disintegrating; it seems likely that it was an arrangement made between Lysimachos and Ptolemy I. Keraunos, of course, arranged his own marriage to his half-sister Arsinoë II.

[63] This was not a purely Ptolemaic phenomenon: royal daughters are always more likely to marry out than are sons, and the Ptolemies did take to reserving at least one daughter for home consumption. See Ager 2017.

[64] Cf. Ogden 2009, 207. See Seibert 1967, 72–8, on Soter's marriage alliances.

[65] On the marriage of Eirene and Eunostos, see van Oppen de Ruiter 2015b, who proposes a date around 319 BCE, shortly after Triparadeisos and the accession of Eunostos as king of Soloi (connecting it also to the spate of other marriage alliances that were made around this time); he suggests that Eirene was born *c.* 331/0 BCE, but an earlier date is equally possible.

[66] Plutarch (*Demetr.* 31) substantially compresses events, claiming that Arsinoë's marriage to Lysimachos and Lysandra's to Lysimachos' son Agathokles were simultaneous; Pausanias contradicts himself, saying both that Lysandra was married to Agathokles around 293 BCE (1.9.6) and that she was already married to Agathokles when Lysimachos married Arsinoë in 300/299 BCE (1.10.3). It is more likely that Lysandra married Alexander (soon to be Alexander V of Macedon) around 297 BCE (van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a, 156) and that she married Agathokles only after the death of Alexander in 294 BCE (Paus. 1.9.6; Porph. *BNJ* 260 F3; Ogden 1999, 59).

her first husband Philip also proved useful in the marriage exchange: Antigone was married to Pyrrhos of Epeiros, probably in 298, and Theoxena (Berenike's daughter by Philip?) married Agathokles of Syracuse.[67]

Ptolemaïs, the daughter of Ptolemy and Eurydike, was betrothed to Demetrios I Poliorketes around 298/7; Plutarch claims that the agreement was brought about through the mediation of Seleukos, now Demetrios' son-in-law, and Ptolemy's old friend (if, since Ipsos, his territorial rival).[68] However, the marriage of Demetrios and Ptolemaïs did not take place until many years later, in 286/5 BCE.[69] There may have been political and strategic reasons for this delay, given that the original peace between Demetrios and Ptolemy was short-lived, rivals as they were for naval dominance in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean. It was not until Demetrios had been forced out of Macedon and had decided to commit himself to his Asian ambitions that Ptolemaïs was brought to him at (or near) Miletos by her mother Eurydike.[70] Just prior to his departure for Asia in 286 BCE, Demetrios had been besieging Athens; according to the Athenian decree honoring Kallias of Sphettos, Ptolemy had sent mercenary troops to assist the Athenians, and had also been instrumental in negotiating a peace between all three parties.[71] It is probable that the marriage of Demetrios and Ptolemaïs marked this agreement, and that Eurydike was carrying out the policy of her husband in escorting her daughter to Asia.[72] This may explain why the marriage took place when it did; it does not explain why it did *not* take place at the time of the betrothal. There is no real reason to suppose that Ptolemy hesitated for over a decade in order to see where Demetrios was going to end up – he was, after all, willing to take a chance on Pyrrhos – and I am tempted to speculate that Ptolemaïs was simply too young to be married at the time of the engagement.[73]

As for Ptolemaïs' half-sister Philotera, the youngest daughter of Ptolemy and Berenike, she too may have been too young to consider at the time when all this matrimonial fervor was at its height. But Philotera never married, and she was evidently dead before her sister Arsinoë died in 270 or 268 BCE. It seems possible that Philotera suffered from some kind of disability that precluded marriage, given that she is likely to have been of marriageable age before Soter died in early 282.[74] Still, another possibility also suggests itself: once Ptolemy II became king in his own right,

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67 Paus. 1.11.5; Plut. *Pyrr*. 4; Just. 17.2.15, 23.2.6.

68 Plut. *Demetr*. 32.3. See Anson 2014, 176. Pyrrhos spent time at the court of Ptolemy as a hostage for Demetrios in the wake of this settlement; it was at this point that he was given Antigone as his wife (Plut. *Pyrr*. 4).

69 On the date, see Shear 1978, 14–15 note 23.

70 Although Demetrios, like Ptolemy, was polygamous, it may be that the recent death of his wife Phila, Eurydike's sister, had made the marriage of her daughter to her sister's husband more palatable to Eurydike.

71 Shear 1978, 2–3 (ll. 18–43), 74–8, 82; Habicht 1997, 96–7; Anson 2014, 181.

72 I am very grateful to Patrick Wheatley and Charlotte Dunn for sharing with me the research for their forthcoming monograph on Demetrios Poliorketes.

73 Cf. Bagnall 1976, 205 n. 39. Van Oppen de Ruiter thinks that Ptolemaïs must have been ten or twelve at the time of the betrothal in 299/8 BCE (2015a, 162, 167), but there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that she could have been much younger than that, perhaps even an infant.

74 Carney also makes this suggestion (2013, 98).

eventually marrying Arsinoë II, he launched a dynastic strategy that was extremely inward looking. He may have preferred to keep Philotera unmarried, treating her as a sort of adjunct to his marriage with Arsinoë, with whom Philotera became associated in cult.[75]

Do any of these marriages suggest a preference for Berenike over Eurydike or for Berenike's children over Eurydike's?[76] Of all of them, the marriages to Lysimachos and Kassandros' son Alexander were the most prestigious, and arguably the one to Lysimachos the more so, since he was a reigning king. It is possible, however, that Lysimachos received Arsinoë simply because he was first in line and she was the eldest unmarried daughter (rather than that she was more important to Ptolemy because she was Berenike's child). Perhaps Berenike was pleased to see her daughter marry a powerful king; but on the other hand, Eurydike might actually have lobbied to have her own daughter marry her brother's son within the next year or two. As for the marriages of Berenike's daughters Antigone and Theoxena, to Pyrrhos and Agathokles of Syracuse respectively, these clearly were less prestigious.[77] This says nothing one way or the other about Berenike's status *per se*, since the real factor involved here is that they were not Soter's own daughters. It is rather difficult to assess the significance and status of a marriage with Demetrios, a man of many wives and many career vicissitudes. He at least merited a daughter of Soter himself, and if his bride was Eurydike's child rather than Berenike's, that may simply be because Ptolemaïs was the last available daughter.

Plutarch says that when Pyrrhos was in Egypt, he paid special court to Berenike because of her influential position: τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην ὁρῶν μέγιστον δυναμένην καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει τῶν Πτολεμαίου γυναικῶν, ἐθεράπευε μάλιστα (Plut. *Pyrr*. 4.4). It was no doubt this assiduous attention that gained him Berenike's daughter Antigone as his bride, which may have been Pyrrhos' intention all along. It is noteworthy that Ptolemy did not promise him a child of his own, and perhaps Pyrrhos knew better than to suggest it. If Ptolemaïs was already promised to Pyrrhos' patron Demetrios (not certain) and Philotera otherwise unavailable, then Antigone may have been the best Pyrrhos could do.[78] Pyrrhos himself is likely to have subsequently played up the connection to Berenike, since it gave him a link to Ptolemy II, even though

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75 *Sch*. Theokritos *Id*. 17.121–123d = *BNJ* 613 F5; Carney 2013, 98, 128; cf. Wikander 2002; see also Kallimachos fr. 228.43. See further below. Keeping Philotera unmarried also controlled her genetic power (preventing her from giving birth to potential rivals), but she was surely of age before Ptolemy I died, and there is no sign that he worried about his other daughters producing lots of offspring. Other than the fact that she died before Arsinoë, we do not know the date of Philotera's death.

76 It is often pointed out that the marriage of Thaïs' daughter Eirene to a minor Cypriote king is a sign of the lower status of Thaïs and her children; but if the marriage took place around 319 BCE, Eirene would have been Ptolemy's only marriageable daughter at the time.

77 *Contra* Bagnall 1976, 205, who argues that Ptolemy was placing *all* of Berenike's children in more "significant niches" than Eurydike's.

78 Adams 2008, 94; Carney 2013, 26, who nevertheless sees the Plutarch passage as indicative of some increase in Berenike's prestige.

Antigone was dead by the time Philadelphos came to the throne.[79] The statement that Berenike enjoyed the most influence of all of Ptolemy's wives as of 298 BCE needs therefore to be taken with a grain of salt.

Were these marriages beneficial for Ptolemy's daughters? As Carney points out, Lysimachos already had an adult heir in his son Agathokles, and Kassandros' son Alexander was a younger (perhaps youngest) son, his older brother Philip (and his father) probably still alive at the time of the marriage.[80] Neither Arsinoë nor Lysandra would have seemed to have much of a chance to have their own sons inherit the throne (a further argument that Ptolemy was not particularly favoring Berenike's child over Eurydike's). If Ptolemy did broker Lysandra's second marriage in about 293 BCE to Agathokles, Lysimachos' heir-apparent, then he was directly involved in setting up both his daughters to be amphimetric rivals, extending to Lysimachos' court the same dangerous competition that existed at his own.[81] Ptolemy was certainly in a position to recall what happened to rival brides of a polygamous king (and their children) once the king was dead: Olympias, the mother of Alexander III, had wiped out the rival Argead lines by murdering Kleopatra-Eurydike, Philip III Arrhidaios, and Adea-Eurydike.

As for Ptolemy's step-daughters, it is interesting that Antigone was still unmarried in 298 BCE, when she must have been at least in her early twenties or perhaps older.[82] One might wonder whether Soter was deliberately holding on to her, rather than actively seeking a marriage for her, in case an opportunity beneficial to him arose. William Greenwalt has observed that a common age for female marriage at the Argead court was the late teens;[83] if Antigone remained unmarried into her twenties, it seems likely that this was so because her step-father believed he had a use for her. Antigone's own interests could not have been paramount in this calculation, both in the delay of her marriage and in the choice of her mate Pyrrhos, who in 298 BCE was a king in exile (though Ptolemy did undertake to restore him to Epeiros in the following year).

Soter's interests, on the other hand, were very well served indeed by the disposition of his children. His marriage ties extended throughout the Mediterranean: a double connection, through Eurydike and (briefly) Lysandra to Kassandros' dynasty in Macedon; a triple connection to Lysimachos in Thrace and Asia Minor; a connection

79 See Bennett *sv* Antigone.

80 Carney 2013, 25–6; *contra* van Oppen de Ruiter 2015a, 167. On the age of Alexander, see Ogden 1999, 55.

81 Ogden 1999, 59; Carney 2013, 41–2. Heckel thinks that Soter was not involved in arranging Lysandra's marriage to Agathokles (1989, 35), and the possibility remains that it was a case of what Ogden calls *auto-ecdosis* (i.e., Lysandra went directly to Lysimachos' court after Alexander's death and offered herself in marriage to Agathokles).

82 We might say the same for Theoxena, but in truth we do not know exactly when she was married to Agathokles; Bagnall 1976 suggests shortly after 300 BCE, since she had children that could be described as *parvuli* in 289 (Just. 23.2.6). In allying himself with Agathokles, Ptolemy probably had an eye to his western interests in Africa; he sent his step-son Magas to Cyrene as governor around 300 BCE.

83 Greenwalt 1988, who points out that Thessalonike, who may have been in her mid- to late twenties when she married Kassandros, is the outlier here (94); the slow disintegration of the Argead monarchy was instrumental in determining Thessalonike's marriage date.

to the stumbling Antigonid dynasty in the person of Demetrios; and connections to Cyprus, Epeiros, and Sicily. The conspicuous absentee on this list is Ptolemy's old friend and now wary neighbor Seleukos I. In 300/299 BCE Seleukos – who was already married to Apame and had children by her – married Demetrios I's daughter Stratonike (Plut. *Demetr.* 31). Seleukos himself may have been cautious, preferring to avoid further entanglements; his own experiment with polygamy ended by 293 BCE, when he transferred Stratonike to his heir Antiochos I. Soter, on the other hand, seems to have been willing to gamble with marriage alliances, though the fact that there was now a sore spot known as Koile Syria between the two men may have held him back from seeking a closer tie with Seleukos. While we can find strategic reasons for each of Soter's alliances individually, when we examine the picture holistically, it is one of an opportunistic ruler willing to exploit rather cold-bloodedly his own offspring on the off chance that the connection might prove valuable. In truth, of course, the marriage of daughters was always part of a Hellenistic king's political strategy, so it would be unfair to condemn Ptolemy I as being unusually indifferent to his children's interests. But he was the "most polygamous" Macedonian king of the Hellenistic age, if by that we mean that he had the most children by different women. The sheer scale of his families and the multiple opportunities that brought him have the effect of magnifying his actions and the policies with which he was experimenting.

If we return now to the inheritance riddle, it seems that each of Ptolemy's families in turn may have served at least temporarily as his expectant heirs. Through the years of Ptolemy's young manhood on campaign with Alexander and for the first few years in Egypt, his sons by Thaïs would have been his obvious successors.[84] We saw above that the date of the beginning of Ptolemy's and Thaïs' relationship can be at least in part estimated by the age of their children: Eirene was old enough to be married in (probably) 319 BCE, Lagos was old enough to win a chariot victory in 308 BCE, and Leontiskos was of military age by at least 306 BCE.[85] Lagos we presume to have been Ptolemy's eldest son, on the basis that Ptolemy gave him his own father's name. The fact that he named this son Lagos suggests that the relationship with Thaïs was a stable one, and probably an actual marriage. Since Lagos was almost certainly born before the death of Alexander, Ptolemy would not have had any possibility of inheriting a kingdom when his oldest son was born.[86] In the proper fashion of the Macedonian nobility, he named his son for the latter's paternal grandfather and no doubt expected to prepare his son for a career similar to his own at Alexander's court. In later years, Ptolemy certainly kept his sons by Thaïs, and perhaps Thaïs herself, about him. In all likelihood, he simply had a fondness for his family by Thaïs, since

[84] Ogden 1999, 69; Carney 2013, 19.

[85] Lagos evidently accompanied his father on the Aegean campaign of 309/8 BCE, winning the chariot race at the Arkadian Lykaia in 308 BCE (*Syll*[3] 314 = *IG* V.2 550; Hauben 2014, 254, notes that this victory might have been even earlier, perhaps as early as 314 BCE); Leontiskos was captured by Demetrios at the Battle of Salamis in 306 BCE (Just. 15.2.7).

[86] Ogden 2008, 353–54; Carney 2013, 149 note 20.

it does not seem that he actively considered either Lagos or Leontiskos as rivals to his Macedonian sons once they were grown.

Did naming Eurydike's oldest boy Ptolemy imply that Soter was already transferring his heritance plans to his new Macedonian family? I am not sure that we can draw this conclusion. He had already used Lagos for Thaïs' son, and many younger sons did bear their own father's name (rather than their grandfather's) without it being particularly meaningful. It is unfortunate that we do not know the name of Eurydike's son who held some kind of command in Cyprus and rebelled against Philadelphos after their father's death.[87] Meleagros at least does not seem to have been given a particularly significant name, though it is possible that Argaios was intended to evoke the Argeads.[88] Nevertheless, subsequent history shows that Keraunos was for some time and by many people considered to be the obvious heir, so it seems clear that Eurydike's children eventually took precedence over Thaïs'.

As far as the nomenclature of his children goes, our first reasonably solid indication of a new kind of dynastic thinking on Soter's part was the decision in 308 BCE to name Berenike's son "Ptolemy" as well. It appears also in the name of Eurydike's daughter Ptolemaïs, who I have conjectured may have been born later than Philadelphos. Both his Macedonian families thus had a share in the dynastic naming practice, and as with the shift from Thaïs' children to Eurydike's, I do not think that the name choice for Berenike's son in itself indicates an immediate transfer of Soter's affections and intentions. It nevertheless laid the groundwork for the ultimate amphimetric rivalry: "the name choice itself implies that these two Ptolemies literally became rivals at birth."[89]

Did Soter model himself on Philip II, with his multiple wives and children? He may have allowed or even encouraged rumors that he was actually an illegitimate son of Philip, and Pausanias makes the explicit link between his and Philip's passion for women.[90] Perhaps it is even true that Philip married his last wife for love, as Ptolemy is alleged to have married Berenike, though in Philip's case, the fact that Kleopatra-Eurydike was his first Macedonian wife probably was also part of his strategy.[91] If so, Ptolemy was more fortunate than Philip in his progeny (if one wants to see it that way), given that Philip, for a man with seven wives, did not actually produce all that many children. He had only two sons that we know of, Alexander and his

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[87] Van Oppen de Ruiter identifies him with Meleagros (2015a, 157).

[88] See Heckel 1989, who points out that "Argaios" is as Argead a name as one could have (33; but see also 36 n. 12); see Heckel also for discussion of Meleagros' name, which may have come from Soter's maternal grandfather. Of course, we have no certainty that Argaios was Eurydike's son.

[89] Carney 2013, 21; cf. Strootman 2014a, 99–100; Caneva 2016. We do not (apparently) find a similar pattern of naming more than one son Ptolemy until the reign of Ptolemy V and his two sons Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII. See further below. It is interesting that a later solution to Ptolemaic sibling rivalry – having one brother rule in Alexandria and the other in Cyrene or Cyprus – does not seem to have been on the table at this point; perhaps the utter failure of Kassandros' sons to share the kingdom functioned as a deterrent.

[90] Paus. 1.6.8. See Ogden 2013; van Oppen de Ruiter 2013b; Lianou 2014, 128–29.

[91] That the Macedonian ethnicity of Eurydike and Berenike was important to Ptolemy is suggested by the (apparent) fact that his children by other wives/women were not in the running to be his heir.

half-brother Arrhidaios.[92] The sources universally report that Arrhidaios, who might have been the older brother, suffered from some kind of disability. That, plus the fact that Alexander was evidently blessed with an over-abundance of ability, suggests that throughout their teenage years their father had probably settled on Alexander as his obvious heir, at least for the interim. Philip naturally would not have been counting on dying in his mid-forties.

Philip never, however, stated that Alexander was his heir. The breach between father and son caused by Philip's last marriage to the Macedonian Kleopatra-Eurydike and the infelicitous remarks of her uncle Attalos at the subsequent drinking-party, where he toasted the expected progeny of Philip and his new wife as a "true-born heir," no doubt contributed to Alexander's sense of insecurity (Plut. *Alex.* 9; Just. 9.7.3–4; Ath. 557d-e).[93] So much so, that in 336 BCE, at the time of the preparation for the Asian campaign, Alexander misinterpreted Philip's diplomatic move of betrothing Arrhidaios to the daughter of the Carian satrap Pixodaros. Philip was no doubt preparing the ground by creating a marriage alliance with a ready-to-rebel Persian satrap, without binding himself too closely by giving said satrap the able son. Alexander, however – a rather hotheaded individual, and still young – read this arrangement as a sign that Philip intended to consider Arrhidaios as his heir. The subsequent debacle, in which Alexander ruined his father's diplomatic victory by offering to marry Miss Pixodaros himself, led to yet another row between Alexander and Philip, this time with significant consequences for some of Alexander's friends.[94] Ptolemy and a few others were exiled by Philip, either for having advised Alexander unwisely or for having failed in stopping him from indulging his own headstrong willfulness (Plut. *Alex*. 10; Arr. *Anab*. 3.6.5–6). Ptolemy was not recalled from exile until after the death of Philip later that year.[95] All this was no doubt a painful experience for him, and perhaps also a harsh lesson in dynastic politics.

The question then is, did Ptolemy pursue a similar policy with respect to his own sons? Did he refuse to send a clear message for a long time, and control the two youthful Ptolemies for some years by keeping them both guessing and making them work for it?[96] Naming his two sons from both Eurydike and Berenike "Ptolemy" may have been a way of saying they were both in the running and it was up to them to prove their worth. This departure from normal practices of nomenclature (using his own name for his sons rather than his father's name) also suggests that the Ptolemaic practice of "cloning" the king, of maintaining a *Ptolemy* on the throne at all times, was already a dynastic vision in the time of Soter.[97]

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[92] If we do not count the (probably apocryphal) son Karanos, mentioned only by Justin (11.2.3; see Heckel 2006, 78).

[93] Plutarch also reports a story that Alexander complained to Philip about his habit of producing potential competitors for the throne with women other than Olympias (*Mor*. 178e-f).

[94] See Heckel, Howe and Müller 2017.

[95] See Heckel, this volume.

[96] Cf. Strootman 2014a: "a deliberate policy of the ruling monarch to keep the court divided" (110). See also Greenwalt 1989, 34, 38–39; Müller 2009a, 24.

[97] See Carney 1987, 430 and 2013, 15, 77; cf. Ager 2005, 18; Carney 2011, 206; and Lorber 2014, 118 (the continuous

> By these unconventional choices, Ptolemy deemphasized his father, Lagus, and gave his sons names that imply they replicated him rather than his ancestors. The name choice, in other words, parallels his monarchy, self-created and not inherited.[98]

For all his vaunted love of Berenike, Soter may have treated Philadelphos – and his other sons – with the same kind of calculated ruthlessness as he did his daughters. He was a gambler, but a cautious one who played his cards close to his chest.[99] Rather than indulging a soft spot for the much-adored child of his old age, his heritance strategy may simply have been to sit back and observe while giving nothing away.[100] It is unfortunate that we have no real information on the opportunities for active display of their merits afforded to the young men. Presumably all of Soter's sons were provided with the kind of schooling that was necessary to an upper-class Macedonian male, including military training.[101] But while some of Soter's other sons appear to have been given positions of some responsibility – Leontiskos participated in the campaign of 306 BCE, Soter's step-son Magas was made governor of Cyrene around 300 BCE, and the unnamed son of Eurydike was entrusted with some kind of command in Cyprus[102] – we hear of nothing like this for either Keraunos or Philadelphos while their father was still alive. It is therefore hard for us to say whether Soter was grooming one or the other or both for potential kingship, the way Philip so clearly groomed Alexander, unless we suppose that keeping them both close to him rather than despatching them on foreign duty constituted such grooming.

For all we know, it was Philadelphos – long thought of as an indolent sensual aesthete – who gave the most signs of the hardness of character that Soter might have thought necessary in his successor (and perhaps Keraunos left Egypt with a disgruntled feeling of having to prove that he could be just as cold-blooded if that was what it took?). It is hard to see Soter – a veteran and partial victim of amphimetric

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use of Soter's portrait on Ptolemaic coinage).

98 Carney 2013, 15.

99 On Soter's "caution," see Meeus 2014 and Anson, this volume.

100 Both Ogden and Carney suggest the possibility that Soter had a particular fondness for his youngest son because he was the child of Soter's old age (Ogden 1999, 71; Carney 2013, 27). However, once we rule out the notion that all of Eurydike's children were older than Berenike's, we really do not know that her sons were substantially older than Ptolemy II; in other words, they too could have qualified as sons of Soter's "old age." Even Keraunos himself might have been much closer in age to Philadelphos than is generally assumed. We know far too little about Meleagros, Argaios, and the Rebel in Cyprus to speculate as to why they might not have been in the running (and we actually do not know that they were not: Philadelphos was evidently threatened enough by them to consider them enemies).

101 We know the names of Philadelphos' tutors, such as Philetas of Kos and Zenodotos of Ephesos (Müller 2009a, 25–6); Ellis 1994, 59 makes the point that we have no reason to believe that Philadelphos was given an education that was any different from or superior to Keraunos'. This would naturally have changed once Philadelphos became co-regent and had the opportunity for experiential learning.

102 Pausanias alleges that Argaios was given the responsibility of escorting Alexander's body from Memphis to Alexandria (1.7.1). If Pausanias is not confused on this point (which seems a distinct possibility), it creates a chronological problem with identifying Argaios as a child of Eurydike (see the discussion at van Oppen de Ruiter 2013a). It may be better to consider the possibility that Argaios was a son of Ptolemy by an unknown woman. My reconstruction here presupposes that the Rebel in Cyprus was given his position by his father, and that he is not to be identified with Meleagros.

rivalry among the Argeads and of decades of war among the men who were once his comrades – deciding on his heir because he had a sweetness of character that was lacking in his older half-brother. So perhaps we have had it backwards all these years, and Philadelphos got the job because his father saw that he was tougher than Keraunos.

It behoves us to remember that Keraunos was on the losing side, and that his half-brother and half-sister had ample opportunity to paint the historical record any way they chose. In spite of Keraunos' reputation in the literary record, it is worth reiterating that Appian says that he left Egypt out of fear of Philadelphos, not that it was the other way around. Moreover, no source claims that Keraunos contemplated murdering Philadelphos to get him out of the way, and when Keraunos settled himself (briefly) on the Macedonian throne, he did his best to conciliate Philadelphos.[103] Berenike's son had his own core of hard-edged steel when it came to family matters: bringing about the death of his half-brother(s); exiling the mother of his young children, Arsinoë I (who may or may not have been plotting against him), and forcing those children to acknowledge his sister-wife Arsinoë II as their mother;[104] and sending his only daughter Berenike to a foreign court where she was certain to run the risk of amphimetric conflict, to which she eventually succumbed.[105] The tradition reported by Nepos (*Reges* 3.4) – that Philadelphos murdered Soter once the throne was passed to him – is almost certainly false, but perhaps it resonates with this harsher portrait of the second Ptolemy.

There is a phenomenon among scholars that I call Historian's Hindsight Syndrome: thinking that things turned out the way they did because somebody actually planned it all that way.[106] The truth is that Soter was dealing with an enormous paradigm shift during the course of his own adult life. Over the decades, he had seen ample evidence of, and been involved in, the kind of cataclysmic events that changed the course of history. His first son was born when Soter was only a relatively minor member of the Macedonian warrior nobility; his last, not long before he declared himself king and pharaoh. In the end, he may simply have made the best he could of it all, seeking opportunities wherever he could. Perhaps he was a warm-hearted man who enjoyed

[103] Just. 17.2.9. Of course, murdering Arsinoë II's two youngest sons would not have helped this relationship, but even these murders might have been provoked by Arsinoë's oldest son; and we have no evidence of Philadelphos charging to his sister's rescue, as we do with Ptolemy III and his sister Berenike (such, at least, was how the Ptolemaic media presented things); see Huß 2001, 257.

[104] His three children by Arsinoë I would all have been under ten years of age when their mother was taken away from them. Carney 2013, 70 suggests that Philadelphos' treatment of Arsinoë I was more merciful than otherwise, given that she could have been executed or sentenced to foreign exile; internal exile in Upper Egypt, however, was at least as distant as any foreign exile could have been, and it effectively prevented Arsinoë from forming connections with any friends – and potential enemies of Philadelphos – outside of Egypt. One imagines that the *damnatio memoriae* of their mother was quite painful to her children, and that the loss of her children was quite painful to their mother.

[105] Berenike was married to Antiochos II at the end of the 2nd Syrian War (252 BCE); after the death of Antiochos in 246 BCE, Berenike was murdered by the supporters of Antiochos' first wife Laodike and her sons (Polyb. 5.58.11; App. *Syr*. 65; Polyainos 8.50; Just. 27.1; Porph. *BNJ* 260 F 43).

[106] See Meeus 2013 for a recent treatment of this phenomenon.

having lots of children around, or perhaps he was a hard-headed manipulator who liked to have lots of markers in the game. Or perhaps he was both: simply, a Macedonian king.

Soter certainly did not have the advantages that his son Philadelphos had when it came to succession planning. Philadelphos was able to learn from his father's mistakes (if we can even characterize them as such) and he took the dynasty in a completely new direction. But it bears remembering that Philadelphos was as much of an opportunist, as capable of seizing the moment, as his father ever was: he could not, after all, have foreseen that his sister would end up back in Egypt or that she would be willing to engage in the full sibling marriage experiment. Love, not strife, was now to be the dynasty's signature, and the Alexandrian poets of Philadelphos' court took care to emphasize it, retrojecting it into the time of Soter by emphasizing Berenike and maintaining a discreet silence about his other wives and women. Instead of multiple messy sprawling royal families, with all the chaos, rivalry, and violence those could entail, Philadelphos constructed an extremely tightly closed loop of legitimacy, the obvious culmination of which was the marriage between Philadelphos and his full sister Arsinoë II, and her adoption of her brother's three children by Arsinoë I. Anything further from Soter's generous collection of wives and offspring can scarcely be imagined.

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Chapter 4

The Currency Reforms and Character of Ptolemy I Soter

Catharine Lorber

Ptolemy son of Lagos effected at least five and probably six monetary reforms during the first thirty years of his rule in Egypt. These involved both iconography and metrology, and they can be analyzed in two distinct frameworks. Some express ideology and send possible signals about Ptolemy's intentions with respect to Alexander's empire. Others were related to monetary provision or fiscal management and shed light on his talent as an administrator – but these measures also served to define his relation to Alexander's empire. Ptolemy's record in this sphere is much in contrast to that of Alexander, who was more interested in conquest than in governing. Alexander seems to have pursued an *ad hoc* policy with respect to existing currencies. Some continued in production with only minor changes and others were extinguished, usually for punitive reasons.[1] Many mints were coopted to produce Alexander's imperial coinage but in general this coinage was struck only as needed to meet military obligations, especially the pay owed to his veterans upon their discharge. As a result Alexander's coinage only began to enter currency markets in volume after his return from India at the end of 325 BCE.[2] Apparently Alexander did not envision his currency as a unifying factor in the process of state building. That may, however, have been a perception of his Successors who, except for Ptolemy, long continued to strike coinage modeled on that of Alexander and thus encouraged the acceptance of Alexander's coinage as an international currency.

First reform: The imposition of Alexander's coinage

At the time of Alexander's conquest, the Egyptian economy was in an early stage of monetization.[3] The principal coin was the Athenian silver tetradrachm, popularly

[1] On Alexander's tendency to leave existing coinages in place, see Le Rider 1997, 89. Coinages that ended soon after his conquests include those of Samaria and Philistia.
[2] Le Rider 1997, 91.
[3] Van Alfen 2002a, 34–5, 46–7. For a different view of the role of coinage in the 4th century Egyptian economy,




Fig. 4.1. Silver tetradrachm of Athens, ca. *454–404 BCE (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)*



Fig. 4.2. Silver tetradrachm with demotic inscription naming Pharaoh Artaxerxes, Egypt, 343–338 BCE, van Alfen 2002a, Type I (photos courtesy of Dimitri Markov)

called the owl, which served as an international currency in Egypt and the Levant in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE (Fig. 4.1).[4] The owls circulating in Egypt included both products of the Athenian mint and imitations struck locally.[5] Finds are concentrated in the Delta and around Memphis, but from the last decade of the 5th century the use of "staters of the Ionians" is attested textually in more remote areas, notably Elephantine and the Kharga Oasis.[6] The owls were used in economic transactions: ostraca from Kharga Oasis show that the function of coined silver was mainly to guarantee contracts through penalty clauses, but the oasis dwellers probably earned their coins through sale of agricultural cash crops in the Nile Valley.[7] The owls also played a role in military finance, especially under the last indigenous pharaohs in their conflicts with Persia, and perhaps under the last Achaemenid satraps of Egypt.[8] A unique gold stater with Athenian types inscribed ΤΑΩ attests an issue by Tachos, the Greek name of the pharaoh Djedhor (361–359 BCE) who invaded Achaemenid Asia.[9] A surprisingly diverse group of silver tetradrachms bearing the inscription Pharaoh Artaxerxes in demotic or garbled demotic (Figs. 4.2–4.4) was apparently struck primarily to reassert the authority of Artaxerxes III over his most troublesome subjects after his reconquest of Egypt in 343 BCE.[10] Other owls, produced more systematically, are signed in Aramaic by the satrap Sabaces, who fell in the battle of Issus, and by his successor Mazaces, who surrendered Egypt to Alexander (Figs. 4.5 and 4.6).[11] The poor weight control of Sabaces' coinage may be indicative of hasty preparations against Alexander, or of an intentionally overvalued coinage destined strictly for Egyptian

see Colburn 2018.

4 Van Alfen 2002a, with earlier bibliography; Van Alfen 2011, 57–65.

5 Buttrey 1982, 1984; Jones and Jones 1988, 108–10; Price 1993; Flament 2001; 2003; 2005; Nicolet-Pierre 2001; 2003; van Alfen 2002a; 2011, 66–73; Arnold-Biucchi 2006–2007.

6 Nicolet-Pierre 2005, 8, 10–11. On the evidence from Elephantine, see Naster 1970, 34–5; on that from Kharga Oasis, see Chaveau 2000; Agut-Labordère 2014.

7 Agut-Labordère 2014, especially 78, 84–5, 88–9; 2016.

8 Van Alfen 2011, 85; Colburn 2018. Older views often emphasized the pay of Greek mercenaries as the primary reason for using Athenian owls, see, e.g. Nicolet-Pierre 2005, 13–4.

9 Van Alfen 2002a, 23, 43–6; Nicolet-Pierre 2005, 12.

10 Van Alfen 2002a, 24–7, 37–41.

11 Nicolet-Pierre 1979; van Alfen 2002a, 31–2; 2011, 71–3.



Fig. 4.3. Silver tetradrachm with demotic inscription naming Pharaoh Artaxerxes, Egypt, 343–338 BCE, van Alfen 2002a, Type III (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Fig. 4.4. Silver tetradrachm with Aramaic and garbled demotic inscriptions, Egypt, 343–338 BCE, van Alfen 2002a, Type IVa (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Fig. 4.5. Silver tetradrachm with Aramaic inscription naming Sabaces, satrap of Egypt under Darius III, Egypt, 336–333 BCE (photos courtesy of Gemini LLC)



Fig. 4.6. Silver tetradrachm with Aramaic inscription naming Mazaces, satrap of Egypt under Darius III, Egypt, 333–332 BCE (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

circulation.[12] The provenances of Egyptian coin dies imply mints at various locations outside of Memphis.[13] Some of the anonymous imitative owls may have been struck privately by warlords in the Delta who challenged the domination of the central authority, possibly including those who deposed Djedhor.[14]

At some point in the early Hellenistic period, the Athenian tetradrachm was abruptly and completely replaced in Egypt by Alexander's coinage (Fig. 4.7). Written sources do not mention this change; we know of it because of a break in the coin hoards. In sixteen 5th and 4th century BCE Egyptian silver hoards owls are the predominant coins, sometimes accompanied by other pre-Alexandrine coins, silver cake ingots and smaller pieces of smelted silver, *Hacksilber* (cut pieces of silver), rarely jewelry, and arguably even plate.[15] One additional hoard contains owls with a single Alexander

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12 Van Alfen 2002a, 36–7.

13 Meadows 2011 identified five dies from at least three different provenances: a cube die with obverse images engraved on three faces discovered in the underwater excavations at Herakleion-Thonis; a similar cube die from the Victor Adda collection, now lost but represented by an electrotype in the British Museum; a reverse die found near or included in the Tell el-Athrib hoard (*IGCH* 1663 = *CH* X, 443); and two other reverse dies reportedly from Sais, shown at the British Museum in 1910 and represented by casts.

14 Van Alfen 2002a, 45–6; 2011, 69.

15 Van Alfen 2004–05, 14–6; 2011, 57–65; Nicolet-Pierre 2005, 10–1; Duyrat 2005, 31–2; Colburn 2018, Table 1;



Fig. 4.7. Silver tetradrachm in name of Alexander the Great, Memphis, ca. *323–320 BCE (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)*

tetradrachm which is suspected to be intrusive.[16] The next generation of hoards consists of coins of Alexander and Philip III Arrhidaeus, sometimes supplemented by Ptolemy's satrapal issues.[17] Out of fourteen early Hellenistic Egyptian silver hoards only one contains owls, accounting for less than 1% of the hoarded coins of the period.[18] Both owls and Alexanders adhered to the same weight standard and both maintained high standards of purity, so there was no basis for either of these coinages to drive the other out of circulation through normal economic mechanisms. The only plausible explanation is that a political decision made the imperial coinage of Alexander the Great the sole legal tender in Egypt.

The numismatic evidence does not inform us when or precisely how this policy was imposed. It could perhaps have been a *diktat* of Kleomenes of Naukratis, Alexander's financial officer in Egypt and eventually *de facto* satrap of the province. Particular circumstances in Egypt may have prompted Kleomenes to suppress the owls and impose Alexander's coinage as a symbolic expression of the authority of the absent king. By demonetizing the owls Kleomenes would have eliminated coins advertising the authority of Artaxerxes and his satraps. He may also have reversed a trend toward an overvalued epichoric coinage in favor of a common coinage of intrinsic value for Alexander's entire empire. These are, however, unlikely to have been among his early actions. As noted above, Alexander's coinage was not abundantly available before *ca.* 325 BCE, and the mechanism most likely to have brought it into Egypt from abroad was immigration of Macedonian veterans, a process associated with Ptolemy's satrapy.[19] For stylistic reasons, and also because of the general pattern of mint activity under Alexander, numismatists have dated the opening of the Alexander mint in Egypt toward the end of Kleomenes' tenure, or after Ptolemy's arrival as satrap.[20] Another

Egypt, before 1950 (*CH* X, 438 = Kroll 2001); Tell el-Mashkouta, 1947 (*IGCH* 1649 = *CH* X, 441); Memphis, temenos of Ptah, 1916 (*IGCH* 1660); Naucratis, 1885 (*IGCH* 1648); Naucratis, 1885 (*IGCH* 1661); Mit Rahineh, temple of Apis, 1986 (*CH* X, 439 = Price 1988); Fayum, 1934–35 (*CH* X, 442); Naucratis, 1905 (*IGCH* 1652); Egypt, before 1951 (*CH* VIII, 125); Egypt, 1923–24 (*CH* X, 444 = van Alfen 2002b); Egypt, early 20th century (*CH* X, 445 = van Alfen 2002b); Beni Hasan, 1903 (*IGCH* 1651 = *CH* VII, 32); Samanoud, 1907 (*IGCH* 1662); Gharbiya, 1896 (*IGCH* 1656); Egypt, before 1950 (*CH* X, 437 = van Alfen 2004–05); Egypt, unknown date (*CH* X, 440).

[16] Tell el-Athrib, 1903 (*IGCH* 1663 = *CH* X, 443); Nicolet-Pierre 2001. Duyrat 2005, 32, lists another possible hoard containing both owls and Alexanders, Egypt, before 1925 (*CH* VIII, 151), but questions its integrity.

[17] Duyrat 2005, 33–4.

[18] Van Alfen 2011, 59, 64. Levantine hoards show a comparable but far less precipitous decline: of 32 hoards of the early Hellenistic period, 3 contain owls accounting for 22% of the hoarded coins.

[19] Diod. 18.14.1, 18.28.5. For a recent estimate of the level of immigration in the early years of Ptolemy's satrapy, see Fischer-Bovet 2011, 143.

[20] The opening of the mint was dated 326/5 BCE by Newell 1923, 144–46, arguing that Zeus' crossed legs, as

consideration is that a reform involving the replacement of the entire silver currency of Egypt is different in character from the unscrupulous money-raising schemes attributed to Kleomenes by the ancient sources.[21] It bears comparison with other reforms that occurred under Ptolemy's authority, as we shall see below. We can reasonably presume that it was the earliest of Ptolemy's currency reforms as satrap of Egypt.[22]

The ideological implications of suppressing the owls and imposing the use of Alexander's coinage were the same whether the reform was effected by Kleomenes or Ptolemy: assertion of Macedonian authority in Egypt and affirmation of the unity of Alexander's empire. The reform also addressed security concerns and this aspect argues in favor of Ptolemy's authorship, for Kleomenes had no military background that we know of and Alexander did not grant him military authority when he established his administration in Egypt.[23] The demonetization of the owls reduced the risk of resistance by Egyptian notables, by converting their stores of silver to mere bullion that could less easily be used to hire foreign soldiers. Ptolemy's control of the mint and of the production of the sole legal tender ensured that he had a monopoly on the use of armed force in the early years of his satrapy.

The demonetization of the owls also affected the interests of Egyptian temples. The temples accumulated precious metals, including coinage, in their treasuries.[24] They produced the silver cake ingots and smaller lumps of smelted silver found in hoards.[25] The treasury of Heryshaf of Thebes and later that of Ptah of Memphis were considered the guarantors of weights and measures.[26] The demotic marriage contract

opposed to their parallel conformation on earlier coinage, was an Alexandrian innovation imitated at Sidon in the following year. Le Rider 1997, 88, countered that Egyptian issues had a very limited foreign circulation, making it more likely that the Sidonian mint was the innovator, followed by the Egyptian mint in or after 325/4 BCE. Later Le Rider (2003, 255–58; 2007, 193–94) suggested a date nearer to the end of Kleomenes' tenure, 324/3 BCE, while conceding the possibility that the coinage might have begun on Ptolemy's orders. Zervos 1974, 292–303, working backward from the closure of the Demanhur hoard (*IGCH* 1664) and assuming an average annual rate of obverse die use, had already arrived at a date between 324 and 322 BCE and thought it likely that the Egyptian coinage in the name of Alexander began under Ptolemy. Lorber 2005, 48 and 61–2, similarly arrived at a date *ca.* 323 BCE using an assumption of annual coin issues to work backward from the closure of the Demanhur hoard.

[21] Ps.-Arist. *Oik.* 2.33a-33e; *Contra Dionysidoros* 5.68; Arr. *Anab.* 7.23.6–8. Le Rider 1997, 76–82, compared Kleomenes' stratagems with those of Tachos/Djedhor and judged Kleomenes to be a good administrator.

[22] This conclusion was also reached by Colburn 2018, who assumed that Kleomenes would have conformed to Alexander's practice of maintaining existing economic and administrative structures.

[23] Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.2–7.

[24] The Mit Rahineh hoard of 1860 (*IGCH* 1636 = *CH* III, 2) was found near the temple of Ptah, the Mit Rahineh hoard of 1986 (*CH* IX, 439) was found in the temple of Apis, and the Memphis hoard of 1916 (*IGCH* 1660) was found within the temenos of Ptah. The Tell el-Mashkouta hoard of 1947–48 (*IGCH* 1649 = *CH* X, 441) was the treasure of a temple dedicated to the Arab moon goddess Alat, see Kroll 2001, 11 n. 14. A hoard containing two archaic Greek silver coins and more than sixty ingots and pieces of *Hacksilber* was excavated in a priestly residence at Karnak, see Masson 2015, 32–4. Ps.-Arist. *Oik.* 1350b-1351a reports that the pharaoh Tachos (Djedhor) imposed a compulsory loan on the temples and private citizens in order to finance his invasion of Achaemenid Syria.

[25] Vargyas 2002, 1187. In the second half of the 6th century the priests of Karnak also engaged in smelting of copper and copper alloys and in making cake ingots of copper, see Masson 2015, 34–7.

[26] Vargyas 2010; Colburn 2018.

P. Berlin 13614 (Elephantine, 535) records a gift to the bride of two silver *deben* from the treasury of Thebes. An entire class of demotic marriage contracts, beginning with *P. BM* 10120A (Thebes, 517), features endowments in silver "of pieces (***tnj.w***) of the treasury of Ptah, of full value."[27] An ostracon from Kharga Oasis (*O. Man.* 7547) refers to "staters of the temple of Ptah, of full value" (***sttr n Pr-ḥḏ n Ptḥ wtḥ***), a formula that can be interpreted to imply that the staters were minted by the temple.[28] Indeed it has been suggested that the temples of Lower Egypt produced most of the local imitations of the Athenian owls, i.e., those not bearing the name of an Egyptian or Achaemenid authority.[29]

Ptolemy's reform would have put an end to any such mint activity, but otherwise it had minimal impact on the temples. Any owls in temple treasuries retained their bullion value – and it is not clear that coining had conferred any additional value in the context of 4th century Egypt; the abundance of bullion in association with coins in Egyptian hoards implies a monetary role for uncoined silver and hints at a relative indifference to the value added by minting.[30] Hoards of uncoined silver continued to be formed throughout the Ptolemaic period and it seems that the temples continued to play their traditional role in the monetary cycle, casting silver ingots and roundels, placing them into circulation, and gathering them back for recasting after they had been cut into increasingly small bits.[31] The prestige of the divine treasury of Ptah as the guarantor of value was not affected by the reform, for demotic marriage contracts involving endowments in silver "of pieces of the treasury of Ptah, of full value" continued to be drawn up throughout the Ptolemaic period and even after the Roman conquest.[32]

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[27] See also *P. Berlin* 3078 (Thebes, 493/2), where the sum is a gift to the bride rather than an endowment; *P. Chicago* 17481 (Arsinoites, 365); Chicago Hawara doc. 2 (Eueris, 331).

[28] Agut-Labordère 2014, 80.

[29] Colburn 2018.

[30] Van Alfen 2004–2005, 16, 20; 2012, 22. See Colburn 2018, for the view that coins were valued as bullion, and not on the basis of their devices, but also for the speculation that the difference in weight between five silver staters (tetradrachms) and one *deben* might yield a profit to mint authorities, with the implication that coined silver was valued at something above its metal content.

[31] Vargyas 2002, 1187–90. Records of the royal bank of the Heracleopolite nome from the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II reveal that bullion could be deposited and withdrawn like currency, see Maresch 2012, 110 (1d, col. II, ll. 13, 15), 181 (2b, col. II, l. 2), 193 (2d, col. II, l. 4).

[32] *P. Bn* 219a = *P. Eheverträge* 2D (Memphis, 316); Chicago Hawara doc. 3 (Eueris, 311/10); Chicago Hawara doc. 6 (Eueris, 259); Chicago Hawara doc. 8 (Eueris, 243); *Urk. Hawara* I (Eueris, 239); *Urk. Hawara* II (Eueris, 235); *P. Louvre* 2429 = *P. Eheverträge* 15 (Thebes, 232?); *P. Leiden* I 381 = *P. Eheverträge* 3Z (Memphis, 226); *P. Mich.* 4526 = *P. Eheverträge* 4D (Philadelphia, 199); *P. BM* 10591 recto = *P. Eheverträge* 5D (Lycopolis, 30 November 181); *P. BM* 10594 = *P. Eheverträge* 34 (Lycopolis, 19 June 172); *P. Mich.* 4244/4a = *P. Eheverträge* 6Z (Heliopolis in Arsinoites, 6 February 142); *Urk. Hawara* VIII (Eueris, 129); *P. Cairo* 30607 = *Eheverträge* 7D (Tebtunis, 26 February 128); *P. Cair.* 30608 = *P. Eheverträge* 8D (Tebtunis, 5 March 123); *Urk. Hawara* XII (Eueris, 100); *Urk. Hawara* XIV (Eueris, 98); *Urk. Hawara* XV (Eueris, 93); *Urk. Hawara* XVIII (Eueris, 90–88); *P. Cair.* 30616 = *P. Eheverträge* 9D (Tebtunis, 23 March 78); *P. Bn* 224–25 = *P. Eheverträge* 10D and 10Z (Memphis, 5 May 68); *Urk. Hawara* XXIII (Eueris, 67); *P. Heid. Aeg.* 11 = *P. Eheverträge* 11D and 11Z (Karara, late Ptolemaic); *P. Mich.* 347 = *P. Eheverträge* 12D (Tebtunis, 1 February CE 41). The formulae sometimes omit the word for pieces. In the view of Manning 2010, 134–35, these formulae were mere archaisms actually referring to Ptolemaic coins and marking "a subtle yet important

In the view of Colburn, the demonetization of the owls was a policy aimed specifically at the Egyptian temples, with the intention of undermining their minting operations and giving Ptolemy more control over the provision of coinage in his satrapy.[33] This presumed purpose was consistent with longer-term Lagid goals of monetizing the Egyptian economy and reducing the economic power of the temples.[34] Colburn also hypothesized that Ptolemy availed himself of temple reserves to obtain silver for his own coinage. The behavior of Djedhor provided a recent pharaonic precedent for forced loans in times of military exigency, a precedent that was known to the Greeks because of the involvement of the Athenian general Chabrias.[35] But we should not forget that Ptolemy got possession of 8,000 talents which Kleomenes had accumulated in the satrapal treasury.[36] The talent being equivalent to 6,000 drachms, this was enough to mint 12 million tetradrachms/staters. Assuming an average output of 20,000 tetradrachms per obverse die,[37] 600 obverse dies would have been required to coin the entire 8,000 talents. The 1974 die study of Zervos recorded 58 obverse dies for the Egyptian tetradrachms of Alexander type, and another 20 for tetradrachms of the Alexander/Zeus type introduced in Ptolemy's second reform (see below). Even without performing statistical calculations to estimate the original number of dies, it is easy to see that the output of tetradrachms in Ptolemy's early satrapy came nowhere near exhausting the bullion reserves in his treasury. It is enormously unlikely that he required contributions from the treasuries of the Egyptian temples.

It is worth asking if demonetization of the owls, in addition to inhibiting military resistance by Egyptian grandees, could have contributed to the decline of aristocratic euergetism toward the temples in the early Macedonian period.[38] The monetary use of bullion in temple contexts suggests a negative answer. The demonetization should not have impoverished Egyptian elites, and their declining visibility as temple protectors and benefactors probably reflects the first stages of a Ptolemaic religious policy.[39]

Although the imposition of Alexander's coinage was a symbolic expression of Macedonian authority in Egypt, one of Ptolemy's earliest coin issues employed carefully selected imagery to communicate respect for Egyptian tradition – or perhaps to lay claim to that tradition in service of foreign rule. The emission is unique in Ptolemaic coinage in its use of a purely Egyptian artistic motif. On the reverse of both gold staters and silver tetradrachms the principal type is supplemented by a subsidiary symbol, the head of a ram wearing the double feather (***šwtj***) crown (Figs. 4.8 and 4.9).[40]

shift of political and economic power away from Egyptian temples and into the hands of the Ptolemaic kings."

33 Colburn 2018.

34 On monetization as an aspect of state development, see von Reden 2001; Manning 2008. On the assertion of control over the temples, see Gorre 2009, 499–512 for the early stages, Ch. IV and V for the methods of control.

35 Ps.-Arist. *Oik.* 2.2.25, 2.2.37; Polyain. 3.11.5.

36 Diod. 18.14.1.

37 See most recently Callataÿ 2011, 9, 12–3, 23.

38 The decline was documented by Gorre 2009, 489–502.

39 Gorre 2009, 502–12.

40 Gold stater: Svoronos 5; Zervos 1974, issue 73. Silver tetradrachm: Svoronos 6; Zervos 1974, issue 3.




Fig. 4.8. Gold stater in name of Alexander the Great, Memphis, ca. *323 BCE (American Numismatic Society inv. 1965.77.104)*




Fig. 4.9. Silver tetradrachm in name of Alexander the Great, Memphis, ca. *323 BCE (Numismatic Fine Arts archive)*

J. N. Svoronos described it as the god Ammon Chnouphios, a syncretism of Amun and Khnum. E. T. Newell's description of the god as Khnum influenced subsequent numismatic literature until very recently. M. Weber and, separately, K. Sheedy and B. Ockinga, have argued that the ram's head is that of Amun, the Egyptian god of kingship with whom Alexander was especially associated.[41] Weber read the head as representing the oracular god Ammon of Siwah, from whom Alexander sought an oracle concerning his future conquests, and whose priest greeted him as the son of the god.[42] Hellenized as Zeus-Ammon, Ammon of Siwah was also closely associated with the Amun-Ra of Thebes, who was worshipped in a separate temple at Siwah under the title "Amun of Siwah, Lord of Oracle Giving."[43] The juxtaposition of the crowned ram's head with the Greek Zeus on the reverse of the tetradrachms evokes Zeus-Ammon and Alexander's divine filiation to the god of Siwah, to Amun-Ra of Thebes through his Egyptian throne name ***stpn Rˁ mrj ʼImn*** (chosen of Ra, beloved of Amun), and to Zeus through the Argead claim of descent from Herakles.[44] For Sheedy and Ockinga the ram's head fundamentally represents Amun-Ra and but implies his Hellenized form Zeus-Ammon. The pairing of Amun-Ra and Zeus on the tetradrachms associated the two gods as the Egyptian and Greek sources of kingship, so as to legitimate the rule of the Macedonian dynasty in Egypt. The ram's head further recalled Alexander's proper exercise of his pharaonic duties in renovating the temples of Amun-Ra at Luxor and Karnak.[45]

Second reform: The introduction of Alexander's coin portrait

The tetradrachm coinage of Alexander the Great, emitted over the last decade of his life and continued by the Successors in the early Hellenistic period, featured designs which must have appeared universal and immutable to contemporaries. The obverse

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41 Weber 2008; Sheedy and Ockinga 2015.
42 Weber 2008.
43 Weber 2008.
44 Weber 2008, 243–45. Weber noted that Ammon of Siwah assimilated other Egyptian ram gods as Amun-Khnum (the Ammon Chnouphios of Svoronos) and Amun-Herishef, but these gods had no particular connection with Alexander.
45 Sheedy and Ockinga 2015. Alexander's filial relation to Amun is explicitly attested by the dedication of the small temple of Amun at Bahariya Oasis, "from King Alexander to Ammon his father," see Bosch-Puche 2008.



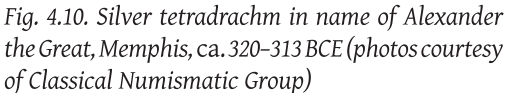


Fig. 4.10. Silver tetradrachm in name of Alexander the Great, Memphis, ca. *320–313 BCE (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)*



Fig. 4.11. Silver tetradrachm in name of Alexander the Great, Alexandria, ca. *312–306 BCE (photos courtesy of Freeman & Sear)*

type was a head of the young Herakles wearing the skin of the Nemean lion as a headdress. The reverse type was an enthroned Zeus holding an eagle perched on his extended right hand. Around 320/19 BCE Ptolemy became the first of the Successors to alter Alexander's numismatic imagery by introducing an alternate design for the obverse of his tetradrachms (Fig. 4.10).[46] The new type depicted a beardless male head with a ram's horn curling from his temple, but the horn is largely obscured by a headdress in the form of the head of a trumpeting elephant. The lower part of this headdress terminates in two deep horizontal folds, occasionally ornamented with a scattering of pellets, with a knot in front from which rise two curving lines with thickened tips. (We know today, based on the later development of the type, that these folds and the knot were intended to represent the aegis, and the two curving elements were snakes, but this may not have been apparent to contemporaries.) After a few further emissions a *mitra* or band worn around the forehead was added to these attributes. Later the folds disappeared from lower part of the elephant headdress and it was elaborated with scales so as to clarify its identity as an aegis (see Fig. 4.11).[47]

The earliest recipients of these tetradrachms were confronted with an unfamiliar and rather startling image. Ptolemy had invented *paradoxon,* the deliberate attempt to astonish, which together with *tryphê,* the display of wealth and refinement, became typical of the self-promotion of the Lagid dynasty.[48] Users of the coinage were no doubt able to recognize a representation of the deceased Alexander because of the recentness of his obsequies in Memphis. The awe inspired by his funeral rites will have been enhanced by the strangeness of his attributes. As these developed over time, it became apparent that the late conqueror had been endowed with the attributes of several different deities – the horn of Zeus-Ammon or Amun, the *mitra* of Dionysos, and the aegis of Zeus or Athena – as well as the elephant headdress which was unique to Alexander himself. As various scholars have emphasized, there were no precedents in Greek art for this kind of composite image associating diverse divine attributes

46 For the date, see Lorber 2005, 62.
47 The development of these details is carefully traced by Dahmen 2007, 11.
48 Caneva 2015.

with a human being.[49] Contemporaries must have struggled to understand the precise significance of the *mélange.* The obscurity of the symbolism renewed the power of the image to evoke a response in those who saw it. This mystification was a special aspect of *paradoxon*.

The individual significance of two of the attributes was at least partially intelligible. For Egyptians the ram's horn symbolized Alexander's legitimacy as ruler of Egypt through the grant of Amun-Ra, source of Egyptian kingship.[50] There were important Egyptian precedents for the portrayal of Alexander with this divine attribute: the great New Kingdom pharaohs Amenhotep III and Ramesses II, both associated with Egyptian imperialism, were depicted in Upper Egyptian and Nubian temples with ram's horns curling about their ears.[51] For Macedonians and Greeks the ram's horn recalled Alexander's pilgrimage to Siwah, his recognition as the son of Ammon, and the god's grant of dominion over the entire *oikoumene.*[52] The elephant headdress evoked India and thus the full reach of Alexander's eastern conquests,[53] expressing the legal basis for his universal empire, *doriktetos chôra* (spear-won territory). The portrait served as a constant reminder that Ptolemy had laid Alexander to rest in Egypt, with the implication that he was the true heir to Alexander's empire, for the funeral of an Argead king played a central role in the Macedonian rites of succession.[54] In terms of Egyptian royal ideology Ptolemy's burial of Alexander echoed the filial piety of Horus, the god of kingship, who gathered and buried the dismembered parts of his divine father Osiris, prototype of deceased kings, and thus succeeded to the kingship himself.[55]

Alexander's portrait initially served as an alternative to the head of Herakles that appeared on the obverse of Alexander's silver. Parallel issues were produced for several years, but ultimately Alexander replaced Herakles altogether.[56] The arresting new type discouraged the circulation of Ptolemy's tetradrachms outside of Egypt.[57] Ptolemy had in effect created an epichoric currency suitable only for the local economy,[58] even

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49 Grimm 1978, 103, 108; Stewart 1993, 233.

50 Grimm 1978, 103, 105–06; Hölbl 1991, 93.

51 Amenhotep III is depicted with ram's horns in the Hall of Appearance at the temple at Luxor and in the Shrine of the Lord of Nubia in the temple of Amun-Ra and Amenhotop III at Soleb, Nubia. Ramesses II is depicted with ram's horns in the Harper Sanctuary of his temple at Abydos and in a relief in the temple at Abu Simbel, where his human persona is shown worshipping his divine form under the name Ramesses-mery-Amun. See Török 2002, 43 n. 35; te Velde 1982, 136; Schultz and Seidel 1998, 177, fig. 59, and 211, fig. 121.

52 Arr. *Anab.* 3.3–4; Just. 11.11.6–12; Curt. 4.7.27. On Alexander's relation to Ammon, see most recently Weber 2008, 243–245; Caneva 2011; Howe 2013; Sheedy and Ockinga 2015.

53 The bibliography on elephant symbolism is very large, but see most recently Schneider 2009 and Alonso Troncoso 2013, with earlier bibliography.

54 Alonso Troncoso 2009; see also Strootman 2014, 210–14.

55 Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 68–70.

56 For the parallel emissions, see Zervos 1974, issues 5 and 8, issues 4 and 12, and issues 7 and 13. In the view of this writer there was a fourth parallel emission involving Zervos issues 1 and 9, not recognized by Zervos because of the lack of a thunderbolt in the design of the Herakles/Zeus variety.

57 Alexander/Zeus tetradrachms are found only in Egyptian hoards: commerce, early 1986, Lorber 2012b, nos. 3–5; Egypt, 1974 (*CH* I, 41); Lower Egypt ("Dutilh II") 1894 (*IGCH* 1669); Kuft, before 1875 (*IGCH* 1670); Abu Hommos, 1919 (*IGCH* 1667); Phacous, 1956 (*IGCH* 1678); Delta ("Huber"), 1856 (IGCH 1684).

58 Le Rider 1998, 786.

if it was not a valueless currency as prescribed by Plato for the Ideal State in *Laws* V, 741e-742b. In itself this was not particularly innovative. Xenophon, writing in the mid-4th century, informs us that most Greek cities employed coinage that was not acceptable elsewhere.[59] While the Achaemenid satrap Sabaces may have created an epichoric currency for Egypt, as noted above, Ptolemy's introduction of an epichoric currency was a break from the prevailing concept of a single imperial coinage, and it arguably implied a goal of fragmentation of the empire even as the obverse portrait of Alexander advertised claims of universal dominion.

This inference must be tempered by the fact that Ptolemy did not impose the new type on his external possessions. The mints of Sidon and Tyre continued to strike dated coinage of an Alexander type in these very years, with Tyre naming Philip III as the issuing authority.[60] Cyrene continued to produce civic coinage of local type, signed by local moneyers.[61] The persistence of poliad traditions at Cyrene is no surprise, for Ptolemy exercised only an indirect control. We know too little about conditions in Phoenicia at this point to hazard a guess at the rationale for the mint policies. There is a chance, though, that Ptolemy's iconographic reform was intended to create an epichoric coinage for Egypt only, and not for all territories under his control. As a practical matter, it helped to preserve his stock of silver, a concern because Egypt lacked native sources of the metal. At the same time it prevented some of his money from falling into the hands of rivals who might use it to finance their own ambitions or, worse, to impede his goals or attack him outright.

Third reform: A new reverse type for the silver coinage

A few years later Ptolemy replaced the reverse type of Alexander's tetradrachms. The image of an enthroned Zeus holding an eagle gave way to the militant war goddess Athena Promachos, depicted in an archaizing style and accompanied by a small eagle on thunderbolt which is assumed to be Ptolemy' personal signet (Fig. 4.11). This archaizing Athena Promachos was paired with the portrait of the deified Alexander until Ptolemy introduced his personal types in 294 BCE (his final reform, see below). The significance of the Athena reverse type is not self-evident, and the interpretive possibilities are colored by the date assumed for its introduction. A small emission of tetradrachms of the Alexander/Athena type, bearing the mintmark of Sidon and a local era date, provides a *terminus ante quem* of 312/11 BCE for this iconographic reform (Fig. 4.12).[62]

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59 *Poroi* 3.2. See also Le Rider 1986, 39.

60 See Lorber 2015, 56–7 with n. 7 for earlier bibliography on the problem of mint attribution at Tyre.

61 Mørkholm 1980, 148.

62 Zervos 1974, 316–19, issue 106; Kuschel 1961, 12–3; Wheatley 2003; Lorber 2018, no. 240. Introduction of the Athena Promachos type is dated *ca.* 315 or 314 BCE in much of the literature treating the numismatic iconography of Ptolemy I, e.g. Jenkins 1967, 61; Zervos 1967; Mørkholm 1991, 64; Hazzard 1995, 23; 2015, 21–2; Noeske 2000, 20–1, 22; Dahmen 2007, 11; von Reden 2007, 36–7. The present author has argued for a date of 312/11 BCE, identical with the *terminus ante quem*, see Lorber 2005, 62–3.




Fig. 4.12. Silver tetradrachm in name of Alexander the Great, Sidon, 312/11 BCE (American Numismatic Society inv. 1944.100.75705)



Fig. 4.13. Silver tetradrachm of Antigonus II Gonatas (photos courtesy of Gemini LLC)

The archaizing style of the Athena Promachos suggests an allusion to an archaic artwork, and the type has been identified in scholarship as a reproduction of the cult statue of Athena Alkis (or Alkidemos) of Pella, the Macedonian capital.[63] The coin types of the later Macedonian king Antigonos Gonatas suggest that the Pellan cult statue probably had slightly different attributes, i.e. the goddess held a thunderbolt rather than a spear (Fig. 4.13). B. Kuschel rejected an identification of Athena Alkis on different grounds, namely that we have no written description of the cult statue, and she compared the Athena Promachos coin type with the decoration of late Panathenaic prize amphorae.[64] Advertisement of a Panhellenic victory could have been an effective way for Ptolemy to enhance his prestige, just as Philip of Macedon had celebrated his agonistic victories on his coinage.[65] But an allusion to the Panathenaic games is not supported by surviving attestations of Ptolemy's successes, and those of his family, in the great Panhellenic contests.[66] In any case, that was not Kuschel's interpretation; rather she proposed that Athena, through her strong association with Greek freedom and victory, recalled Ptolemy's proclamation of the freedom of the Greek cities in 315/4 BCE in response to the similar decree of Antigonos.[67]

We may wonder whether a proclamation which had no discernible impact could have inspired a coin type that was retained for at least eighteen years. The long pairing of Athena with Alexander's portrait points to a broader interpretation. Athena, historically associated with Greek warfare against barbarians, had been the divine patroness of Alexander's campaign against Persia. After his victory on the Granikos he sent 300 panoplies of arms to Athens as a dedication to Athena.[68]

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[63] Kleiner 1949, 46; Brett 1950; Hazzard 1995, 23; 2015, 62; von Reden 2007, 37 n. 29

[64] Kuschel 1961, 11 with n. 12, where a prize amphora of 321/0 BCE is specifically cited.

[65] Philip's tetradrachm type of a victorious jockey on a race horse is believed to celebrate the Olympic victory reported by Plut. *Alex.* 3; see Le Rider 1977, 364–67. Plut. *Alex.* 4 states that Philip commemorated his Olympic chariot racing victories on his coinage. This can only allude to the biga depicted on his gold staters.

[66] He won a victory with the pair of foals in the Pythian Games of 314 BCE (Paus. 10.7.8), and he and his wife Berenike both won chariot racing victories in undated Olympic contests (Pos. *Hippika* AB 78 and 88). Paus. 6.15.10 implies another Olympic victory for Ptolemy's sons, one of whom, Lagos, also won an equestrian victory at the Arcadian Lykaia of 308/7 BCE (*SIG*^{3} 314). Participation in the Panathenaia is not attested for this Lagid generation but rather dates from the early 2nd century, see Bennett 2005, 91–3.

[67] Diod. 19.62. Kuschel 1961, 17–8.

[68] Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.7; Plut. *Alex.* 16.17–18. Squillace 1994.



Fig. 4.14. Gold stater of Alexander the Great, Tarsus, ca. *332/1–327 BCE (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)*

After his victory over Darius at the battle of Issos he made an offering of sacrificial bulls and weapons to Athena Lindia.[69] Alexander's offerings to Athena Lindia were sufficiently significant to Ptolemy that he made a similar offering after Demetrios lifted his siege of Rhodes.[70]

Athena was important to Alexander's numismatic iconography. She was portrayed wearing a crested Corinthian helmet on the obverse of his gold staters, while her adjunct Nike was personified on the reverse (Fig. 4.14). Ptolemy continued to strike gold staters of this type after introducing Athena Promachos on the reverse of his tetradrachms, so that his iconographic reform produced a coherent message emanating from his precious metal coinage: all four types, those of his gold staters and those of his silver tetradrachms, symbolized Alexander's divinely inspired Panhellenic crusade against Persia, his eastern conquests, and his victorious nature. Athena and Nike were still associated with Alexander in the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II, which featured another grouping of Alexander, Ptolemy, and personifications of Arete, the city of Corinth, and the Greek cities liberated from Persia.[71]

The depiction of Athena on Alexander's gold staters follows two different styles, an archaizing style with corkscrew curls and a more modern style showing her hair waving naturalistically (cf. Figs. 4.14 and 4.8). The gold staters struck in Egypt adopted the modern style. Yet the archaizing Athena Promachos of Ptolemy's tetradrachms displays the corkscrew coiffure. She is further distinguished from the Athena of the gold staters by her Attic helmet. Finally, the presence of the eagle on thunderbolt seems to indicate a special relation to Ptolemy. The juxtaposition of two different aspects of Athena was no doubt significant, but it is inexplicable in the present state of our knowledge. Both aspects should be associated with the themes of Greek freedom, warfare, and victory.

The earliest securely datable appearance of the Alexander/Athena typology, in 312/11 BCE, falls shortly after Ptolemy transferred his capital from Memphis to Alexandria, signalling his intention to engage with the Greek world.[72] The Athena Promachos reverse type cannot however be related to the religious institutions of the new capital.[73] It is surely not coincidence that the Alexander/Athena typology, with its implications of liberation and eastern conquest, coincided with an attempt to

[69] *Chron. Lind.* 38.103–109. Squillace 2015, 215–18.
[70] *Chron. Lind.* 39.110–113. Squillace 2015, 218–20.
[71] Ath. 5.202a, 5.201d-e.
[72] The principal source for the relocation of the capital is the Satrap Stela, see most recently the commentary of Schäfer 2011, 93–8. Diodorus first mentions Alexandria in connection with the Kyrenean revolt of 313 BCE (19.79.1–3). Howe 2014.
[73] See Fraser 1972, Vol. I, 195, on the lack of evidence for a cult of Athena at Alexandria.




Fig. 4.15. Silver tetradrachm in name of Alexander the Great, Corinth(?), ca. 308 BCE (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)




Fig. 4.16. Silver tetradrachm with inscription Alexandreion Ptolemaiou*, Alexandria, 312/11 BCE (American Numismatic Society inv. 1944.100.75471)*

reconquer Palestine and Phoenicia from Antigonos. During Ptolemy's brief recovery of the region an exceptional emission of obols of the Alexander/Athena type was struck somewhere in Palestine.[74] The Alexander/Athena typology remained in use in 309 BCE, when Ptolemy commenced a new campaign of "liberation" in southern Asia Minor, and in 308 BCE, when he presided over the Isthmian games, proclaimed the freedom of the Greek cities, and tried unsuccessfully to revive the League of Corinth in his own name.[75] A series of Alexander/Athena tetradrachms with non-Alexandrian technical features, supplemented by Athena/Nike gold staters, bears a monogram that can be resolved as ισθμι (*isthmi*) and was perhaps struck on the occasion of the Isthmian games (Fig. 4.15).[76] For several years thereafter drachms with the Alexander/Athena types were minted at Corinth and probably also at Sicyon, which was garrisoned by Ptolemy from 308 to 303 BCE.[77] These coins served as a reminder that Ptolemy had claimed Alexander's mantle as the defender of Greek liberties. Very likely these coins were circulating in the Peloponnesus during the siege of Rhodes, where Ptolemy more effectively demonstrated his commitment to Greek freedom.

The introduction of the Athena Promachos reverse type was accompanied by an epigraphic innovation. Up until this point, Ptolemy's coin inscriptions had always named Alexander or King Alexander, ignoring the question of who was the actual issuing authority. A portion of the first Alexandrian tetradrachm issue with the Athena Promachos reverse bore the exceptional inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ (*Alexandreion Ptolemaiou*), meaning something like Ptolemy's Alexander-coin (Fig. 4.16).[78]

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[74] Gitler and Lorber 2002, nos. 3 and 37–9; Lorber 2018, no. 246.

[75] Diod. 20.37.1–2. Dixon 2007, especially 173–75.

[76] Zervos issues 104–05, 116–17; Lorber 2018, nos. 201–09; Lorber 2012b, 39. Zervos' stylistic analysis (237–38) indicated that the tetradrachms were modeled on Alexandrian issues of Attic weight, implying a date of issue before Ptolemy's fourth reform (see below).

[77] The Ptolemaic drachms of Corinth are control linked to Corinthian staters of the late 4th century; for a discussion of the chronology, see Mørkholm 1991, 165. They are known from the Chiliomodi hoard of 1932 (*IGCH* 85), which also contained Ptolemaic tetradrachms from Egypt and Corinthian staters, see Zervos 1974, issues 108–10; Lorber forthcoming, nos. 194–96. Zervos identified another series of Alexander/Athena drachms with stylistic and technical affinities to the Ptolemaic drachms of Corinth, but which were not represented in the Chiliomodi hoard, see Zervos 1974, issues 111–14; Lorber 2018, nos. 197–200. Zervos (243–48) considered Sicyon as a possible mint but ultimately assigned the series to Corinth following the first series.

[78] Svoronos 1904, no. 32; Zervos 1974, issue 17; Lorber 2018, no. 41. The term *Alexandreion* was understood

Thus Ptolemy explicitly laid claim to the new Alexander/Athena tetradrachms as his own coinage. He soon reverted to the name of Alexander, either because the novel legend was not well received, or because Ptolemy decided for reasons of his own that it was premature to advertise his authority in this particular way.

The Athena Promachos reverse type appears once at Cyrene, on a silver didrachm whose obverse depicts Dionysos and names the moneyer Theupheides.[79] The reverse inscription is illegible but the name Theupheides associates this didrachm with gold staters and hemistaters inscribed ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟ.[80] The parallel with the Egyptian inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ has often been noted along with its implications of contemporaneity. O. Mørkholm dated the Cyrenian issues *ca.* 314 BCE, immediately before the city revolted against its Ptolemaic governor (313 BCE), and could not explain Ptolemy's choice to "advertise his position as overlord" at this time.[81] The assertion of Ptolemaic authority makes better sense if the coinage is dated after the suppression of the revolt. But in that case the Athena Promachos type, as a symbol of Greek liberties, takes on an ironic aspect.

Fourth reform: The abandonment of the Attic weight standard

The most consequential and the most frequently discussed of Ptolemy's monetary reforms was his abandonment of the internationally accepted Attic weight standard in favor of a lighter standard of his own. A study by B. Emmons showed that the existing coinage was lightened by trimming two obols of silver from each tetradrachm to bring the weight from *ca.* 17.20 g to *ca.* 15.70 g; then the trimmed coin was overstruck with new dies, without altering the established Alexander/Athena typology (Fig. 4.17).[82] These minting techniques were relatively crude and imply that the reform took place in haste. Emmons, following J. N. Svoronos, dated the weight reduction c. 305, and she proposed that it was a response to the catastrophic defeat at the




Fig. 4.17. Silver tetradrachm of reduced weight (overstruck), Alexandria, 306–294 BCE (photos courtesy of Harlan J. Berk)

as a reference to the Alexandria mint by Svoronos 1904, vol. IV, col. 11, followed by some 20th century numismatists, including Price 1991, 496, who interpreted the anomalous legend as announcing the transfer of the mint from Memphis to Alexandria. The majority of scholars, beginning with MacDonald 1905, 127, and Head 1911, 848, understood the term as an adjective denoting the coin and referring either to its obverse type or to its weight standard.

79 Mørkholm 1980, 148, erroneously dating the issue *ca.* 315.

80 Svoronos 1904, Vol. II, nos. 61–62A; for a fuller listing, see Mørkholm 1980, 148–49.

81 Mørkholm 1980, 148–49.

82 Emmons 1954.

battle of Salamis.[83] But an alternative, higher chronology was embedded in the literature through the authority of E. T. Newell and E. S. G. Robinson and continues to be repeated even now.[84] The present author has argued that the high chronology cannot account for bronze coins issued in the name of Ptolemy the King which share the controls of some of the earliest reduced-weight tetradrachms.[85] The control links require us to date the weight reduction shortly before Ptolemy assumed the royal title. This is consistent with the historical context identified by Emmons. Evidently the motive for reducing the weight of the tetradrachm was to expand the currency supply by allowing nine tetradrachms to be struck from the amount of silver formerly required for eight, so as to enable a rapid rebuilding of Ptolemy's military capacity.[86]

Despite the emergency impetus for Ptolemy's abandonment of the Attic standard, it could not have proceeded as rapidly and efficiently as implied by Emmons.[87] The process of recoining was protracted, as indicated by the presence of overstruck coins in nearly all of the roughly fifty emissions of reduced-weight tetradrachms.[88] Zervos estimated a period of seven years for the production of the reduced-weight tetradrachms, and the present author arrived at a similar estimate using different reasoning.[89] At the beginning of the program three auxiliary mints were opened, probably at Memphis, Naukratis, and Pelusium, to supplement the recoining operations at Alexandria.[90] These supplementary workshops closed after a time, but the recoining effort apparently continued at the central mint until after the turn of the 3rd century. During this period the stock of currency was increasingly diluted with reduced-weight tetradrachms.

The weight reduction was accompanied by a ban on the import of coins of full Attic weight. This policy is inferred from the fact that Attic-weight coins struck after *ca.* 306 BCE are not found in Egypt.[91] Some scholars have argued that this date should be lowered to *ca.* 300 BCE, implying a lapse of some years between the first introduction of the reduced-weight tetradrachms and the exclusion of foreign currency.[92] Nevertheless the immediate imposition of import controls would make sense at a moment of fiscal crisis, to ensure the capture of foreign coins for reminting.[93]

The transformation of Egypt into a closed monetary zone created a need for currency exchange at all the points of entry, providing a new revenue stream for the state. 4th century records from Epidaurus and Delphi indicate that the purchase

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83 Svoronos 1904, Vol. I, cols. ρι´ and ριγ´; Emmons 1954, 70, 78.

84 For a brief review of the origin of the high chronology and subsequent discussions, see Lorber 2012b, 34–7.

85 Lorber 2005, 49–50; 2012b, 36.

86 Emmons 1954, 80–1.

87 Emmons 1954, 78, 82–3.

88 Zervos 1974, issues 21–67, issue 107; also Svoronos 1904, Vol. II, nos. 104, 149, 175; Paris, Gallica website btvlb 8508272q.

89 Zervos 1974, 334; Lorber 2005, 54–6.

90 Lorber 2005, 52–60, following the analysis of Zervos 1976, 47–8, except that Zervos identified the output of the subsidiary mints as special issues of Alexandria.

91 Jenkins 1960, 31–2, 36; Nash 1974, 29.

92 Jenkins 1967, 59; Nash 1974, 29–30; Le Rider 1986, 43.

93 Lorber 2005, 58.

of Athenian coins entailed not only the payment of an exchange commission (*epikatallaga* or *katallaga*) but also a tax imposed by the Athenian state.[94] Visitors and immigrants to Egypt probably had to pay exchange fees, and perhaps also a tax to the state, in order to acquire the legal tender. It has been suggested, without supporting documentation, that Ptolemaic exchange did not involve exchange fees but rather the direct exchange of tetradrachms of full Attic weight for the much lighter Ptolemaic tetradrachms.[95] If this was the case immediately after the initial closing of the currency zone, Ptolemy's administration gained two obols of silver for every tetradrachm exchanged. Subsequent monetary reforms, discussed below, extended the requirement for exchange to gold as well as silver and further reduced the Ptolemaic weight standard. These conditions permanently enhanced the profitability of Egypt's export trade and also allowed for future manipulations of the currency.

In seeking to draw Aegean silver and gold into Egypt via international trade, Ptolemy was following established Egyptian practice. The Aqihar papyrus of 475 BCE preserves a customs register from an unidentified Egyptian port which attests the imposition of harbor fees and duties on both imports and exports, affecting merchant ships primarily from Greece but also from Phoenicia.[96] On the other hand, Ptolemy's creation of a closed currency zone in which his coinage enjoyed a legal monopoly was inspired by Greek precedents. From the mid-4th century, Chalkis and the Euboean Confederacy maintained a *de facto* closed monetary zone based on a drachm of reduced weight.[97] Many, perhaps most Greek *poleis* legally required the use of their own coinage within their territories, as exemplified by a 4th century decree of Olbia.[98] Ptolemy's reform, then, was not a true innovation but an adaptation of poliad laws to the Egyptian context. In rejecting Alexander's currency, he arguably also rejected the unity of the empire in favor of a different concept of the state that was neither imperial nor poliad.

It is not easy to infer the policy concerning Attic-weight coinage already circulating in Egypt. A public recall of all Attic-weight coinage in private hands, as Emmons envisioned, would have risked provoking disaffection among the groups whose support Ptolemy most needed, especially the military.[99] More likely Attic-weight coins were tacitly withdrawn when they entered state coffers. Bankers and money changers were probably required to surrender any Attic-weight coins that came into their possession in exchange for reduced-weight tetradrachms. To some extent Attic- and reduced-weight tetradrachms may have circulated side-by-side, but the heavier coins tended to be sequestered in hoards; the contents of several hoards indicate that hoarders

[94] *IG*^{4} 103, ll. 36–7, 41–2, 122–23, 125–26; *FD* III, 5, 25 II A, 5–13 (= Melville Jones 1993, no. 210); Le Rider 1989, 164–65.
[95] Le Rider 1989, 170; 1998, 790–91; Le Rider and Callataÿ 2006, 134.
[96] Yardeni 1994; van Alfen 2002a, 32; 2008, 29; 2012, 18.
[97] Picard 1979, 344–46.
[98] *SIG*^{3}, 218 (= Melville Jones 1993, no. 349); Le Rider 1986, 39–40.
[99] Lorber 2005, 58; 2012b, 41. Curiously, Emmons 1954, 82, argued that a retariffing of silver against gold might have resulted in public confusion or even panic, whereas a modification of the weights would not be startling.

rejected the underweight coins once they learned to recognize them, and hoarded only Attic-weight tetradrachms.[100] The hoards do not provide clear evidence for the rate at which Attic-weight coinage disappeared from Egyptian circulation, but they do suggest that substantial quantities of Attic-weight silver remained in private hands down to the end of the reign.[101]

In reducing the weight of his tetradrachm Ptolemy began the process of overvaluing gold *vis-à-vis* silver, a trend that continued under his successor. An elevated value of gold in relation to silver remained a hallmark of the Lagid monetary system into the 2nd century, apart from a temporary deviation under Ptolemy III. A metallist interpretation – the claim that manipulation of monetary ratios was the fundamental motive for Ptolemaic metrological reforms – has long dominated the scholarship, even if the ratios are usually cited without reference to the prices of monetary metals on the international market.[102] In Alexander's coinage, the gold stater of 8.60 g was equivalent in weight to two silver drachms of 4.30 g and equivalent in value to twenty silver drachms or five tetradrachms, implying a convenient metallic ratio of 10:1. Ptolemy's tetradrachm of *ca.* 15.70 g had no such straightforward relationship to the Attic-weight gold stater and numismatists have speculated that the exchange rate may have risen to six silver tetradrachms (24 silver drachms) for one gold stater, implying a metallic ratio of 11:1.[103]

Fifth reform: The creation of a new type of gold stater

Around 299 BCE Ptolemy replaced Alexander's gold staters with a new type of gold stater (Fig. 4.18). Unlike the reduction of the tetradrachm, this was not an emergency measure. The minting of gold staters had been suspended when the weight of the tetradrachm was reduced. The reformed stater was furnished with its own distinctive types, and tight die linkage among the new staters indicates that they were produced intensively within a short period of time. The associated tetradrachms, on the other hand, are rare and exhibit scant die linkage and many recut controls implying small issues. Zervos estimated that this phase



Fig. 4.18. Gold stater in name of Ptolemy the King, Alexandria, ca. *299–294 BCE (American Numismatic Society inv. 1997.9.69)*

[100] Jenkins 1960, 36–7; Zervos 1976, 52–5; Lorber 2012b, 39–40.

[101] Lorber 2012b, 41–3.

[102] Reinach 1928, 132–37; Rostovtzeff 1941, Vol. I, 399, citing international values. On the role of ratios in whole sequence of reforms, see Robinson 1941, 1637–38; Jenkins 1967, 61–3; Mørkholm 1991, 66–7; Le Rider 1998, 786–88; Le Rider and Callataÿ 2006, 135–38; von Reden 2007, 41–2.

[103] Robinson 1941, 1638; Jenkins 1967, 61. *Contra*: Emmons 1954, 81–2. A policy of benign neglect, stemming from a focus on the silver coinage, was advocated by Le Rider 1998, 786; Le Rider and Callataÿ 2006, 136–37.

of coinage required only a year and a half to produce, but in fact the minting could have been completed in as little as half a year.[104] All of these observations point to the likelihood that the introduction of Ptolemy's gold stater was planned well in advance and involved the accumulation of gold in the treasury to enable the rapid minting of a designated volume of the new staters.

With his new gold stater Ptolemy became the first of the successors to place his own portrait on his coinage, thus associating his image with the most prestigious of the three monetary metals. He was depicted wearing his diadem below his hairline, somewhat like the Dionysian *mitra,* and with the aegis of Zeus tied about his neck. The deified Alexander continued to appear on contemporary silver tetradrachms which continued to be issued in *his* name. Alexander also wore the *mitra* and the aegis. The shared attributes emphasized Ptolemy's link to Alexander. This was also the message of the innovative stater reverse which showed the deified Alexander standing in a car drawn by four elephants, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and wearing the aegis slung over his left shoulder. Above the scene a legend names Ptolemy the King in the genitive. The genitive case was traditional for identifying the issuing authority of Greek coins, but in this case it could also be read as claiming ownership of the scene itself. The triumphal procession and the divine attributes symbolize the epiphany of Alexander as an immortal. It is tempting to associate the types of the stater with Ptolemy's foundation of the state cult for Alexander. The cult is first attested papyrologically only in 284 (*P. Eleph.* 2). It was founded sometime earlier; P. M. Fraser suggested a foundation in 290 BCE,[105] but by that time Alexander no longer appeared prominently on the coinage, as we shall see.

This fifth reform not only introduced new types for the gold stater but also lowered its weight, so that it was no longer compatible with the Attic-weight gold staters of Alexander and Philip III circulating outside of Egypt. Ptolemy's new stater weighed 7.13 g as compared with the Attic stater of 8.60 g. The 20% difference allowed for an expansion of the gold currency supply, as six of the new staters could be struck from the amount of gold required for five of the old. In addition foreign gold coins were now subject to mandatory currency exchange at the points of entry, increasing the income from this source. As with the exchange of silver coinage, it has been suggested that the state profited from the weight differential instead of imposing exchange fees or taxes,[106] but this is only a supposition.

[104] Zervos 1974, 140, 337–39. Zervos based his estimate on the assumption of an average annual use of 50 obverse dies per year for tetradrachms, which is very close to the current estimate that the obverse dies of tetradrachms had an average lifetime of one week, see Callataÿ 1995, 300–01; 1997, 46–7. Zervos made methodological errors, adding the stater obverse dies to the tetradrachm obverse dies and counting each stater die as equivalent to five tetradrachm dies (because the gold stater was equivalent in value to five tetradrachms). In fact the tetradrachms and staters were almost certainly struck concurrently in separate workshops. Because the lifetime of dies for gold coinage is unknown, only the tetradrachm dies can yield a time estimate. The 26 tetradrachm dies of this phase yield a minimum estimate of 26 weeks.

[105] Fraser 1972, Vol. I, 215–16; 1982, Vol. IIa, 365, n. 215.

[106] Le Rider 1998, 790.




Fig. 4.19. Silver tetradrachm of 25 obols in name of Ptolemy the King, Alexandria, 294–283 BCE (photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)




Fig. 4.20. Bronze obol in name of Ptolemy the King, Alexandria, 294–283 BCE (American Numismatic Society inv. 1944.100.75755)

According to the metallist interpretation, the reduction in the weight of the gold stater was designed to preserve the relative values of gold and silver at 11: 1 while permitting a return to the customary exchange rate of five silver tetradrachms for one gold stater.[107] Robinson implied that the reform was necessitated by the unpopularity of the exchange rate of six silver tetradrachms for a gold stater,[108] but again this is only supposition.

Sixth reform: A completely new personal coinage

In 294 BCE Ptolemy entirely overhauled his coinage, changing both its types and its metrology. For the fourth time in his career he completely replaced an existing precious metal coinage with a new one. Like the fifth reform, this final reform was probably planned in advance: the scanty production of Alexander/Athena tetradrachms after the fifth reform could indicate that silver was being accumulated in the treasury in anticipation of an episode of recoining. Die links indicate that the great bulk of the new coinage was minted within two years or less.[109] Control links between Alexandria, Cyprus, Sidon, and Tyre demonstrate that this reform took place around the time Ptolemy recovered Cyprus from the Antigonids, and furthermore that the surrender of Sidon and Tyre took place in this same historical context.[110]

This final reform imposed new, standardized types on Ptolemy' precious metal coinage, and the silver as well as the gold was now struck in the name of Ptolemy the King (Fig. 4.19). Ptolemy's portrait appeared on the obverse, still wearing the aegis of Zeus, and a Jovian eagle was depicted on the reverse. These designs relate to court myths concerning Ptolemy's parentage. According to the version preserved by the *Suda*, Ptolemy was an illegitimate son of Philip II, exposed as an infant but protected and nurtured by the eagle of Zeus. The coin types thus express the theme of Zeus's favor and protection, and arguably also a claim of descent from the royal house of Macedon. The motif of the deified Alexander in his elephant headdress was demoted to the

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[107] Robinson 1941, 1638; see also Jenkins 1967, 61; Le Rider 1998, 786–87; Le Rider and Callataÿ 2006, 137. Reinach 1928, 132, favored an exchange rate of six tetradrachms for the gold stater and calculated a metallic ratio of 13: 1.
[108] Robinson 1941, 1638.
[109] Callataÿ 2005, 119–25, 130–31.
[110] Lorber 2012a.

bronze coinage (Fig. 4.20), subordinating allusions to Alexander's eastern conquests. The iconographic reform of 294 BCE may mark a moment of change in Ptolemy's imperial aspirations, with a new focus on the Macedonian homeland.

As in his two most recent reforms, Ptolemy adopted a lighter weight standard, so that the process of recoining once again expanded his currency supply. The lighter weight standard would also have increased the rate of profit in currency exchange at the border, if Ptolemy's coins in fact exchanged at face value for heavier coins on the Attic standard. His tetradrachm now weighed 14.26 g, 17% less than a tetradrachm on the Attic standard.

The weight of Ptolemy's new tetradrachm approximates various weight standards employed in Phoenicia, so that we might suspect an intention to promote the economic integration of Egypt and Phoenicia, or at least to facilitate exchange between them. But we should not lose sight of another adherent of the Phoenician weight standard. Since *ca.* 315 BCE the royal Macedonian mint at Amphipolis had issued tetradrachms imitating the types of Philip II, with a weight of 14.18–14.26 g.[111] These were used particularly for the pay of Thracian mercenaries, as can be inferred from the fact that they are found mainly in modern Bulgaria. Ptolemy's adoption of the identical weight standard may have enabled him to compete more successfully for the services of these coveted soldiers.

This reform introduced new denominations in precious metal, including some of notable size: the gold *trichryson* or triple stater, the largest gold coin of the Greek world up until that time, and the silver octadrachm. A particularly interesting innovation was the creation of a heavy tetradrachm weighing *ca.* 14.90 g that circulated alongside the regular tetradrachms. In much of the literature about Ptolemaic coinage the heavy tetradrachms are considered to be a transitional phase between the tetradrachms of *ca.* 15.70 g (fourth reform) and the standard tetradrachms of 14.25 g (sixth reform).[112] A. Davesne noted many control links between heavy and standard tetradrachms and argued that they were contemporary.[113] More conclusively, both heavy and standard tetradrachms occur together in hoards,[114] and there is no evidence that the heavy tetradrachm was hoarded preferentially, as we would expect if it had in fact served as the standard tetradrachm for a certain period. Its weight is equivalent to 25 obols instead of the normal 24 obols per tetradrachm. The difference is about 4%, and this is the rate of the commission (*allagê*) later charged for the exchange of silver against gold within the Ptolemaic currency system. It appears that the practice of charging *allagê* on internal currency exchange originated with Ptolemy I, even though it is attested textually only under his successor.

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111 Le Rider 1977, 352–54.

112 See Robinson 1941, 1636; Emmons 1954, 73; Mørkholm 1991, 66; Hazzard 1995, 75; Le Rider 1998, 787; Callataÿ 2005, 118; von Reden 2007, 40; and (tentatively) Cavagna 2010, 86.

113 Davesne and Le Rider 1989, 271–72.

114 E.g., Phacous (*IGCH* 1678), Rüppell (Noeske 2006, 41); Hebron area, 1977 (*CH* IV, 40); Madaba, c. 1919 (*IGCH* 1592); Meydancıkkale, 1980 (*CH* VII, 80 = *CH* VIII, 308 = *CH* X, 269); Sunium (CH IV, 32).

The metallist interpretation emphasizes a new increase in the gold: silver ratio. The gold stater of 7.13 g was not a part of the new currency system, and the *trichryson* weighed 17.85 g, significantly less than three of the former staters. Its weight was also not a multiple of the silver drachm of 3.57 g (implied by the weight of the tetradrachm, but only an accounting unit, not a coin, under the first Ptolemy). At the conventional exchange rate of five silver tetradrachms for one gold stater, the metallic ratio stood at 12:1.[115] The overvaluation of gold in the Ptolemaic kingdom was not without historical precedent; the metallic ratio implied by Achaemenid gold darics and silver sigloi was 13⅓:1.[116] But a ratio of 10:1 was maintained in the Macedonian and Seleucid kingdoms, and so far as we know in Greece, so that the high valuation of gold was a factor that underlined the separation of the Ptolemaic economy from that of the rest of Alexander's former empire.[117]

Conclusions

Scholarship has long emphasized the separatist tendencies implicit in Ptolemy's most famous currency reforms. This chapter offers a more nuanced view by examining each reform in its historical context, rather than looking back from the perspective of the mid-3rd century. This allows us to discern an evolution, and to relate some of the reforms to contemporary political or military events thanks to a more solidly grounded chronology than is found in most of the literature. Ptolemy's first reform, his imposition of Alexander's coinage as sole legal tender in Egypt, promoted the unity of the empire. However it also enhanced his personal authority by suppressing the Egyptian pattern of dispersed monetary production and claiming a minting monopoly for his administration. His second reform (*ca.* 320 BCE) introduced a numismatic iconography centered on Alexander to legitimate his own authority while also expressing the ideology of universal empire. Yet this same iconography was dissonant with one of its apparent purposes, for it served to confine Ptolemy's coinage to Egypt, in effect rejecting the establishment of a universal imperial currency in favor of the poliad concept of epichoric coinage. Beginning in 306 BCE Ptolemy adopted the daring strategy of repeated weight reductions. These not only set Egypt apart from the rest of the *oikoumenê* but also, perhaps more importantly, allowed Ptolemy to expand his currency supply to keep pace with the growth of military and court expenditures. An aspect of these later reforms was the creation of fiscal institutions that increased state revenues, first and most notably the closed monetary zone with compulsory currency exchange at the borders, but later (in 294 BCE) the commission charged on the exchange of gold for silver within Ptolemy's own currency system. In earlier and much current scholarship the first weight reduction is dated *ca.* 312–310 BCE, and this date invited the

[115] Reinach 1928, 133–34; Robinson 1941, 1638; Jenkins 1967, 62; Le Rider 1998, 787; Le Rider and Callataÿ 2006, 138; von Reden 2007, 41.
[116] Reinach 1928, 127; Cuvigny 2003, 111 n. 1; Le Rider and Callataÿ 2006, 136.
[117] Jenkins 1967, 64.

understanding that Ptolemy sought rather early to separate himself from the Argead empire. The lower date places the reform in a context of crisis which very rapidly led to the assumption of kingship by Antigonos and Demetrios, then by Ptolemy. Possibly the economic separation of Egypt from the rest of the empire was only a side-effect of an emergency measure to expand the currency supply. In this reading the battle of Salamis emerges as a key event in the deconstruction of Alexander's empire.

The creation of a closed monetary zone in Egypt made subsequent reforms easier in a way, but they had to be executed very carefully to avoid currency shortages that might disrupt Egypt's essential export trade, like the shortage attested by *P. Cair. Zen.* 59021 (259 BCE). Consequently we have to assume an ability to estimate the currency supply, implying the sort of systematic record keeping more often associated with later Ptolemaic reigns. This is not at all implausible; the customs register preserved in the Aqihar papyrus shows that careful record keeping was not an innovation of the Lagid rulers.

The history of Ptolemy's currency reforms shows him to be an unusually forceful and clever administrator, reminding us that the *Suda* (sv. *basileia*) names competent governance alongside military success as one of the two pillars of legitimate kingship. Numismatists tend to admire Ptolemy as an innovator, but he often adapted existing institutions. The frequency of his interventions suggests an active if not restless mind that not only responded to rapidly evolving conditions but created its own demands for change, demands that kept the monetary system in an almost-perpetual state of flux. The historical sources do not attest any significant opposition to Ptolemy's currency reforms, but we should not assume that all were executed without problems or complications. The number and size of the silver hoards lost after his abandonment of the Attic standard implies at the very least that a considerable amount of silver remained beyond the reach of the state and was in fact lost to the Egyptian economy.

It is a remarkable fact that of 37 Egyptian hoards containing precious metal coins of the first four Ptolemies, 18 – half the total – closed in the reign of Ptolemy I.[118] While currency reforms certainly influenced the formation of these hoards, they cannot account for their loss, for the failure of the hoarders to keep control of their monetary assets and pass them on to their heirs. The count of precious metal hoards closing during the reign of the first Ptolemy far exceeds the five lost in 30 BCE upon the Roman invasion of Egypt. The chronological dispersion of the Ptolemy I hoards undermines any attempt to link hoard loss with specific historical events, such as the abortive invasions of Perdikkas in 320 BCE and of the Antigonids in 306 BCE. A possible general explanation is that the preponderance of men among the Greek and Macedonian immigrants prevented them from marrying within the immigrant

[118] See *EH* I, 140–151, 153–158. The silver hoard *EH* I 152, Toukh el-Garmous, 1905, was part of a temple treasure but another component of the same treasure, *EH* I, 162, comprised gold *trichrysa* of Ptolemies I and II. Apparently different types of coins were stored separately and the destruction of the temple cannot be dated by the earliest component.

community, and they had not adapted sufficiently to take Egyptian wives. Unmarried soldiers who perished abroad in the numerous wars of the diadochic period may have contributed to the unusually high rate of hoard loss. We must also seriously consider the possibility that this period of political and economic transition produced violent unrest in the Delta, where most of the hoards were found. Such troubles are neither recorded in the pro-Ptolemaic literary record nor reflected in the documentary sources, due to the non-survival of papyri in the Delta and the general paucity of papyrological sources from the reign of Ptolemy I.

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Chapter 5

Ptolemy I: Politics, Religion and the Transition to Hellenistic Egypt

S. G. Caneva

Introduction: From Macedonia to Egypt

From the hills of Eordaia, in western Macedonia, where he was born in 367/6 BCE,[1] the career of Ptolemy son of Lagos as a follower, bodyguard and then as a Diadoch of Alexander brought him in about fifteen years (336–322 BCE) through Anatolia, Phoenicia, Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Sogdiana (southern Uzbekistan), Gandhara (northern Afghanistan and Pakistan) and then back to Egypt, where he first served as a provincial governor (satrap), then established his own kingdom, which he shared with his son, Ptolemy II, before dying in 283/2 BCE. The scale and impact of the historical transformations which Ptolemy witnessed, caused, and presided over during his lifespan made him a protagonist in a momentous turning-point for the ancient Mediterranean and Near-Eastern world. Another reason why Ptolemy increasingly sparks the interest of modern historians is that he was faced with the challenge of ruling a multicultural society, where both the practical and ideological aspects of government needed to keep into account a variety of traditions in order to be accepted by, and implemented upon, subjects with different cultural backgrounds and agendas.

In this chapter, the focus is placed on the agency of Ptolemy I in relation to four aspects of the transition from the empire of Alexander to the Ptolemaic kingdom:

1. the relationship between the Macedonian rulers and the indigenous elites
2. the appropriation and diffusion of the cult of Sarapis
3. the rising tradition associating Alexander with Dionysos
4. the response of Ptolemy to the rising success of ruler cults

[1] Worthington 2016a, 9; Heckel 2016, 231; this volume; Howe 2018, "Biographical Essay".

Without pretending to be exhaustive, I will deal with some aspects of these themes that have gone through an intense debate in the recent scholarship, trying to refresh the discussion by means of a cross-media and, when necessary, a cross-cultural approach. Finally, since the analysis of the age of Ptolemy requires an evaluation of what happened before and after him, I will deal with the question of how far the reign of Ptolemy set up later developments in Ptolemaic Egypt. To put it in a more concise way: How "Ptolemaic" was Egypt under Ptolemy I?

Ptolemy and the Egyptian temples

With the advent of Ptolemy, Egypt came under the control of a foreign ruler residing in Egypt, surrounded by a growing network of non-Egyptian collaborators and, after the murders of Kleomenes (323/2 or 322/1 BCE)[2] and Perdikkas (320 BCE),[3] having *de facto* no superior power that might interfere with his plans. Recent scholarship has considerably nuanced a long-lasting binary opposition between an entirely oppressive Persian domination and a fruitful collaboration between the Egyptian elite and the Macedonian liberators, setting the premises for a more fine-grained analysis focusing on social and economic interactions, as well as for a more balanced appreciation of the negotiating processes which led to the maturation of a common anti-Persian discourse legitimating the new rulers.[4]

Within this research framework, however, evaluating the interactions between Ptolemy I and the Egyptian temples is still complicated by three factors concerning the extant evidence: for the period of the satrapy, works in the indigenous sanctuaries were carried out under the name of the Argead pharaohs Philip III and Alexander IV, which makes it difficult to understand Ptolemy's role as the possible sponsor of some of these initiatives;[5] for the period of his reign, we still lack a systematic study of the Egyptian evidence associating his name with building and restoration activities;[6] finally, the contrast between this obscure background and the unique light shed by the Satrap stele hinders a balanced evaluation of whether the positive collaboration between the satrap and the priestly elite evoked by this document actually represented the norm or an exception.[7]

[2] For these different chronological interpretations, see respectively Anson in this volume and Worthington 2016a, 90–91.
[3] For the events leading to the assassination of the regent during his disastrous Egyptian campaign, see Caneva 2016a, 52–55, and Anson in this volume.
[4] For a political overview of the transitional period from the XXXth dynasty to Ptolemy I, see Wojciekowska 2016; Thompson 2018. Manning 2003 discusses innovation and continuity from an economic point of view. The monetary aspects of the transition are explored by Lorber in this volume. For a discussion focusing on the social composition of the Egyptian elite in this period, see Chauveau and Thiers 2006; Gorre 2009a; 2013; this volume; Weber 2012. Quack 2011 and Schäfer 2001 provide a useful historical profile of the Egyptian anti-Persian feeling in the early Ptolemaic period.
[5] See below, p. 91.
[6] For a preliminary discussion of the evidence, see Seidl 1978; Arnold 1999, 154–157; Thiers 2010; Wojciekowska 2016, 107; Minas-Nerpal 2018a.
[7] Gorre 2013, 101, and in this volume.

The degree by which the first Macedonian rulers of Egypt committed themselves to the promotion of the Egyptian temples, in order to gain support to their legitimacy, is a field of open debate. The recent scholarship has convincingly warned against the generalizing assumption that the kings played an active role in the definition of all the architectural programs of the Egyptian temples.[8] It is reasonable to say that in many cases, local priests would act independently, out of their own commitment to enlarge or renew the temples, in order to ensure the good functioning of the ritual life. The increasing evidence of personal euergetism by members of the priestly elite, from the end of the great architectural programs of the XXXth dynasty down to the Ptolemaic period, lends weight to this interpretation.[9] On the other hand, a plausible hypothesis is that direct contacts and negotiations took place on special occasions, even though no standard methods of collaboration were formalized before the reign of Ptolemy II.[10] Royal finances and logistics were necessary for the local clergy to open a quarry or to enable the transport of building materials: these acts constituted the fundamental premises for the launch of large-scale projects.[11] In its turn, priestly support must have been sought by the Greco-Macedonian rulers to ensure that their legitimacy would be acknowledged and formalized in a way fitting the Egyptian political and religious traditions.[12]

A combination of local priestly interest and of pragmatism on the side of the Macedonian establishment must have led to the convergence between the promotion of the legitimating motif of Alexander as son of Amun and the grandeur of the Ammonian

[8] See especially Chauveau and Thiers 2005; Thiers 2009; 2010.

[9] On the ascension of personal euergetism in Egyptian temples as a response to the decline of pharaonic sponsorship and to the reductions of temple budgets during the Persian occupation, see Meeks 1979, 654–655; Quaegebeur 1979, 714–715. For the Macedonian period, see Huß 1994, 19–25, with the review by Colin 1994; Thiers 2006; Chauveau and Thiers 2006, 397–399; Gorre 2009a, 492–495.

[10] On this point, see Gorre 2013 and in this volume.

[11] See especially Chauveau and Thiers 2006, 396; Thiers 2009; Minas-Nerpel 2018a.

[12] The definition of the pharaonic titulary is a revealing case of this process: see el-Gawad 2011; Bosch-Puche 2013; 2014a; 2014b; Ladynin 2016. A particularly tantalizing issue concerns the role played by the Egyptian priests in the creation of the fictional narrative identifying Nektanebo II as the father of Alexander III, transmitted at the beginning of the Greek *Alexander Romance*. As we learn from Hdt. 3.2, the naturalization of a foreign ruler via a fictional genealogical link with an indigenous pharaoh had already been put in practice by the Egyptian elite for Kambyses, said to be a grand-son of Apries. To date, the question about the origin of the story of Alexander III and Nektanebo II must remain unanswered, due to the difficulty of understanding the actual relationship between the episode of the *Romance* and the Greco-demotic versions of the prophetic narrative known as the *Dream of Nektanebo*, which tells the story of the last indigenous pharaoh being defeated by, and forced to escape from, the Persians. Scholars remain divided over interpreting the *Dream* as the direct prequel of the *Romance*, associating the whole tradition with an early priestly effort to naturalize Alexander as an Egyptian pharaoh (Jasnow 1997; Ryholt 2002, still followed by Matthey 2011 and 2012a), or highlighting the fluidity of Greco-Egyptian narrative traditions in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and the possibility that the various stories about Nektanebo developed at different historical stages, not necessarily in relation to a precise program of propaganda (see Gauger 2002, with an analysis of the Greek *Dream* in comparison with the demotic apocalyptic literature). Matthey 2012b, 359–362 and 2014, 315–316, proposes a nuanced evaluation of the relationship between the *Dream* and the *Romance*. For a general survey of the combination between oral fluidity and literary intertextuality in the demotic narrative literature of the Greco-Roman period, see also Jay 2016.

architectural program developed under the name of the Argead kings at Thebes:[13] at Karnak, the works of XVIIIth-dynasty giants like Thutmosis III and Thutmosis IV underwent a remarkably conservative restoration under the names of Alexander III and Philip III;[14] inside the sanctuary of Amenhotep III at Luxor, the new decoration of the shrine of Amun's barque, carried out in the name of Alexander III, constitutes the most complete manifestation of Alexander's pharaonic naturalization on Egyptian temple friezes.[15] The precise date of these works is debated, yet at least the works for the shrine of Amun's barque at Luxor may have started soon after Alexander's conquest, a point further confirming a link between the beginning of the Theban architectural program and the process of legitimation for the Macedonian conqueror.[16]

If interactions between the local clergy and the Macedonian rulers continued under the reigns of Philip III and Alexander IV, then the works carried out at Thebes and in the rest of Egypt under these pharaohs' names had the satrap Ptolemy as their promoter and financier, even though his name would not be mentioned, in compliance with the traditional acknowledgement of pharaonic agency in temple works. We must therefore work on traces. Ladynin has recently argued in favor of a progressive "decentralization" of the temple programs from the major religious centers to provincial sanctuaries, and from Upper Egypt to the Delta, which might depend on a change of policy by Ptolemy; this change would have occurred in the second half of the 310s BCE.[17] To date, our knowledge of the architectural programs carried out during the satrapy of Ptolemy is too fragmentary to draw conclusions on this point; if confirmed, however, this shift might coincide with the development of a new Mediterranean strategy of the satrap, who in the same years moved his capital from Memphis to Alexandria.[18]

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[13] See also Sheedy and Ockinga 2015, on the symbol of a ram head wearing an Egyptian crown, which figures on two early numismatic types issued by the satrap Ptolemy in the name of Alexander. The authors interpret this detail as an attempt, on the part of the Macedonian establishment, to convey a visual message of continuity between the new foreign rulers and the Egyptian traditions placing pharaonic power under the protection of Amun-Re.

[14] The reliefs were carefully recreated as they were at the time of the original decoration, more than one thousand years before: this strategy, pointing to an extreme respect towards the great past of the New Kingdom, has been inspiringly denominated "faux de révérence" by Vernus 2009, 357.

[15] For the Theban architectural programs of the reigns of the Argeads, see Abd el-Raziq 1984 (Amun's Barque Shrine at Luxor); Winter 2005; Chauveau and Thiers 2006, 390–399; Schäfer 2007; Thiers 2010; Ladynin 2014 (stressing the continuity with the XXXth dynasty).

[16] On this point, see Ladynin 2014, 239–240; Pfeiffer 2014. The date depends on the interpretation of the Luxor graffito of Ankhpakhered: Ladynin 2016, 261–264, and Bosch-Puche 2014a, 81–82, n. 152, date the start of the works at Luxor during the first year of Alexander's reign, 332/1 BCE. Cf. Gorre 2009a, 54–55, suggesting a date between 321/0 and 317/6 BCE, in the early years of Ptolemy's satrapy. However, this late date would imply that architectural activities took place at Luxor under Alexander IV, for which no evidence is preserved (Chauveau and Thiers 2006, 395–396).

[17] Ladynin 2014.

[18] From an Egyptian point of view, Ptolemy's strategy was not a complete innovation: as observed by Hölbl 2011, 28, under the pharaohs of the Saite period, the Delta had already played the role of an economic and political interface between the Mediterranean and the Egyptian inland. See Howe 2014 for the move from Memphis to Alexandria.

For much of the Egyptian temple evidence, however, we do not know whether the architectural initiatives of members of the local clergy were actually backed-up by the Greco-Macedonian governors. In some cases, especially when the architectural initiative was on a small scale, a negative answer is more convincing. A typical example is the small chapel built by Horos, priest of Amun-Re at Tentyris, whose decoration traditionally depicts Ptolemy I in the act of paying cultic homage to the local gods, whereas the accompanying text does not mention the king at all and only ascribes the initiative to Horos.[19] This and other documents show that in a phase in which the interactions between the Macedonian power and the indigenous temples were still far from being institutionally organized, the members of the local clergy could take up euergetic tasks which, at least at an ideal level, would belong to the prerogatives of the monarch.

In addition to revealing a sincere commitment towards the temple, personal euergetism offered benefactors an opportunity for self-promotion in the local communities. This trend was not limited to the members of the highest-ranking elite families,[20] but was also exploited by agents of lower origins. Thus, during a period spanning between the XXXth dynasty down and the reign of Philip III, Djedhor, a guardian of the sacred falcon at Athribis, distinguished himself for his commitment to the restoration and maintenance of the sanctuary and for the protection of its purity, which was threatened by soldiers having set up their barracks within the sacred enclosure.[21] His services even granted him the title *p3- šd*, "Savior," connected with the belief that his statue ensured protection against the bite of poisonous animals.[22] Nothing in the autobiographical texts of Djedhor points to a royal initiative, yet a passage on his statue CGC 46341 explicitly states that the benefactor erected the *wabet* shrine of the sacred falcon and placed at its entrance an inscription attributing the dedication to the name of the pharaoh.[23]

Another (possibly) early case of personal euergetism combining religious piety and self-promotion comes from a stone altar (or perhaps a pedestal) dedicated by Horetep, first prophet of Amun-Re in the sanctuary of this god in the oasis of Bahariya (Figs. 5.1a-b).[24] Since the publication of its bilingual, hieroglyphic and Greek

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19 Cauville 1989; Gorre 2009a, 119–121, no. 28, and in this volume.

20 See, for instance, the well-known case of Petosiris at Hermoupolis, discussed in Thiers 2009, 283–284; Gorre 2009a, 176–193, no. 39; this volume.

21 In times of military instability, the powerful walls of the Egyptian temples made them suitable places to host military and civic barracks (Thiers 1995). The issues caused by the dwelling of Macedonian soldiers in a sacred complex is evoked by a famous papyrus containing the order of a commander named Peukestas to respect the house of a priest, at Saqqara, under the reign of an Argead pharaoh or of Ptolemy I (Turner 1974). For Ptolemaic soldiers stationing near or even inside the wall of Egyptian temples in the 2nd century Thebaid and Lower Nubia, see Dietze 2000; Fischer-Bovet 2014, 329–262.

22 Jélinkova-Reymond 1956; Sherman 1981; Thiers 1995 (for the protection of the sanctuary against pollution caused by the soldiers residing there); Gorre 2009a, 353–364, no. 70; 2013, 102–103. All these authors stress the fact that Djedhor was a self-made man who managed to acquire his prestige and to have it religiously sanctioned merely on the base of his deeds.

23 CGC 46341, line 19, with Gorre 2009a, 360, arguing that this claim of proximity with the monarch was part of Djedhor's strategy of self-promotion.

24 Bosch-Puche 2008, 37. For Horetep, see also Gorre 2009a, 450, no. 86 (only referring to the hieroglyphic

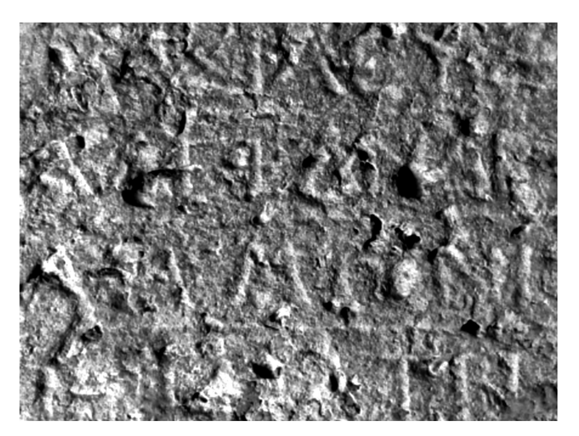




Fig 5.1.a Detail of the Greek dedication to Ammon at Bahariya (from Bosch-Puche 2008; augmented contrast to facilitate reading)

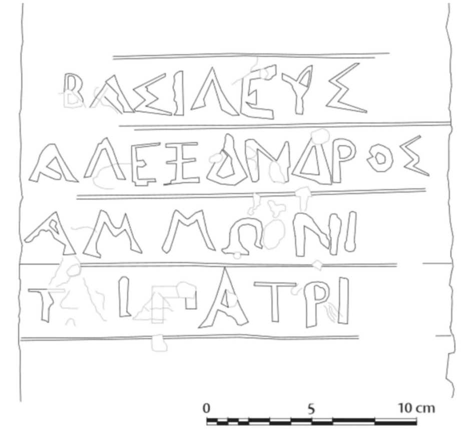


Fig. 5.1b Drawing of the inscription (from Bosch-Puche 2008)

inscription, this humble object has attracted the attention of scholars because it provides the only known specimen of the full pharaonic titulary of Alexander the Great.[25] Based on a palaeographic analysis of the Greek inscription, the editor dated the whole monument to the reign of Alexander (332–323 BCE).[26]

In a series of recent contributions, Ladynin has contested this chronology, instead interpreting the monument as a later imitation of the Argead or early Ptolemaic period.[27] I would like to add that this dedication could hardly point to a direct, or even to a mediated initiative of Alexander. To begin with, the two columns of the hieroglyphic text juxtapose the titulary of Alexander with Horetep's name and function, the first increasing the prestige of the latter, rather than the opposite. Moreover, the mediocre style of the Greek text is far from what one can expect from the dedication of a member of the Greco-Macedonian elite,[28] not to mention of a king.[29]

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text). For a discussion of the temple, erected in the name of Alexander, see Colin 1997; Hirzbauer 2011. Neither the construction, nor the decoration of the sanctuary were finished: see Chauveau and Thiers 2006, 393, with further references

[25] For the discussion of Alexander's title on the "Bahariya altar," see Bosch-Puche 2008; 2013, 132; 2014b, 91. For a critical revision, cf. Ladynin 2016.

[26] Bosch-Puche 2008, 37. Note, however, that there is no certainty about the two inscriptions having been written at the same time; the marginal position of the Greek text might rather suggest the opposite.

[27] Ladynin 2016, 258–259 with further references.

[28] In addition to the irregular letter shape, one may note the unpolished surface with stonecutter guidelines almost as deep as the letters themselves. These features jointly reveal a low-quality execution: see for instance *I. Breccia* 3, a small plaque from Naukratis, probably from a private altar of the ruler cult; *I. Ptol. Alex.* 53, a dedication to Osiris by a Cretan. The use of deep guidelines in a Greek inscription stemming from an Egyptian milieu is paralleled by *I. Ptol. Alex.* 34, a small stele with a dedication to Isis and Sarapis *hyper* Ptolemy XII and his children.

[29] Cf. the high quality of *I. Priene* 156 (= *I. Priene*[2] 149), a dedication by Alexander III at Priene; *SEG* 29 800, a dedication by Philip III and Alexander IV to the Great Gods of Samothrace. Even more relevant is an elegant inscription from Memphis, recently published by Bowman, Crowther and Savvopoulos 2016, 100–102, no. 1.

Regardless of its original function, the Bahariya bilingual inscription cannot be seen as a sign of the passage of Alexander at Bahariya. While analogy with the aforementioned documents allows us to interpret the hieroglyphic inscription of Horetep as a manifestation of loyalism by a priest who also wanted to increase his own prestige in the local community, the exact purpose of the Greek inscription remains unknown. All in all, the later chronology proposed by Ladynin for the Egyptian dedication could apply to the Greek text as well: the latter could have been written under the influence of the rising tradition about Alexander's visit to the Libyan desert and his recognition as the son of Zeus Ammon.[30]

The ethnicity of the audience for the Bahariya dedication raises the question of what impact such personal initiatives could have on the Greco-Macedonian establishment. Given that, in general, non-Egyptians were not able to read these texts (and in many cases agents other than priests were not even allowed to enter the inner sacred areas of temples where they were inscribed), members of the Greco-Macedonian elite could only understand their meaning thanks to the help of cultural mediators. That these mediators also acted as political negotiators is made clear by the Satrap stele (CG 221821; 311/0),[31] where the fruitful interaction between Ptolemy and the priests of Buto is enabled by the work of the counselors of the satrap (line 7).[32] The ideological importance of this cultural brokerage cannot be overestimated, since the Satrap stele

The text is probably a dedication by Alexander (III or IV); the editors tentatively restore the preserved text, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΠ[…] as a dedication to Apis. One can also mention the five small plaques with genitive dedications to gods found at Persepolis (*IK Estremo Oriente* 241–245). Probably belonging to altars, these inscriptions can be dated on paleographic grounds to the reign of Alexander III in Asia (330–323) or to the government of Peukestas (323–316). They show a fine quality of execution, and even though the name of the donor is not mentioned, they can stem from the initiative of the Macedonian establishment in the former Persian capital.

30 The place of Ptolemy's *Hypomnemata* in the historiographic tradition about Siwah is much debated. In his report, the satrap (or king, according to the high or low chronology of this work: see Worthington 2016a, 213–219) apparently advocated an alternative version of the return of Alexander from Siwah to Memphis via the internal desert routes (thus via Bahariya), rather than along the Cyrenaic coastline, as suggested by the other ancient historiographers: see Arr. *Anab.* 3.5, with Howe 2013 and 2014; but cf. Bosworth 1976, 136–138, arguing for a mistake of Arrian misinterpreting a concise passage of Ptolemy. Two mentions of a similar dedication appear in literary works of the imperial period, pointing to a long-lasting success of the Siwah episode in the literary traditions concerning Alexander: the *Alexander Romance* (Ps.-Call. A 1.30.5) mentions an altar dedicated by Alexander to Ammon in Alexandria, while a similar one is referred to in Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 2.43, at the Hyphasis river. Conversely, when we leave the literary evidence in search for archaeological traces of the importance of Siwah, we must remain disappointed: nothing on the terrain suggests that, after Alexander's visit, the sanctuary in the desert received the attention that one would expect for a major *lieu de mémoire* in the Alexander tradition. On the contrary, Strabo 17.41.3 states that by his time, the oracle of Siwah had lost most of its prestige. To date, we can only speculate about why Siwah soon lost the ideological relevance that the visit of Alexander had bestowed upon it. In the early Ptolemaic period, the importance of the Siwah episode is echoed by the Alexandrian demotic *Ammonieus*, probably created under Ptolemy I (*P. Sorb.* I 7; 257 BCE). Later on, however, it was only the role Siwah played in the historiographic tradition about the Macedonian conqueror which ensured the long survival of its fame in literature.

31 Remarkably, the date of this text, which portrays Ptolemy as a ruler *de facto* in contrast to the absence of the institutional authority of Alexander IV, is the same as *P. Eleph.* 1, where Ptolemy experiments with a double dating formula referring to the regnal years of the legitimate pharaoh and of his own satrapy (Caneva 2016a, 59–60).

32 Schäfer 2011, 132–133 (text and translation) and 136–138 (commentary); Ockinga 2018.

sheds light on the processes by which the Greco-Macedonian and the Egyptian elites fashioned an anti-Persian discourse favorably portraying the Macedonian rule.[33]

In the report of the priests of Buto, the Egyptian motif of the king's impiety precipitating the kingdom into chaos and preventing the passage of power from father to son combines with a hint to the traditional target of Greek anti-Persian feelings, Xerxes I,[34] and with a celebration of Ptolemy for punishing the eastern enemies of Egypt and bringing back the sacred properties of the temples, stolen by the Persians.[35] The bringing back of temple goods to Egypt would become a common topic of Egyptian celebrations of Ptolemaic kings in the 3rd century, with the Seleucids playing the part of the Persians. However, this theme was a novelty at the time of the Satrap stele. In 311/0 BCE, such a reference would still point to Alexander's propaganda depicting the Asian campaign as a revenge against the Persians, guilty, among other crimes, of impiety against the temples in the regions they invaded or subdued to their domination. Herodotus' treatment of the impiety of Cambyses against the Apis bull, certainly drawn from an Egyptian priestly source,[36] allows us to understand how the topic of punishing the impious Persians could offer Greek and Egyptian negotiators a common ground of shared traditions to establish consensus and promote internal legitimacy against a common external enemy. Moreover, in the Satrap stele, the seminal binary opposition between the good and the bad monarch is not only reinforced by the continuity between the indigenous king Khababash and Ptolemy, both acting as benefactors of the goddess of Buto; it is also updated to the new agenda of the Macedonian ruler: the comparison between past and present implicitly equates the archetypal Persian enemy, Xerxes I, with Ptolemy's rivals Demetrios and Antigonos, recently defeated by the satrap in the battle of Gaza (early winter 312/1 BCE). The text issued by the priests of Buto therefore sheds light on a religious, ideological and geopolitical laboratory whereby the respective traditions of the involved parties are scanned in search for ideological common grounds capable of promoting collaboration.

The diplomatic dynamics on which the Satrap stele sheds light would not have been possible without the presence of cultural mediators on both sides. However, drawing a list of Egyptian collaborators of Ptolemy I is a challenge made complex by the scarcity of sources and by the difficulty of evaluating the actual forms of interaction between the indigenous elites and the central power at this early stage.[37] The issue is even bigger when it comes to considering the identity of Greek intellectuals and elite

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33 Klintott 2007; Ladynin 2007; Caneva 2016a, 59–68.

34 Ladynin 2007, 342–345; Schäfer 2011, 146–151.

35 Caneva 2016a, 66–68.

36 Hdt. 3.27–29, with discussion in Pfeiffer 2014, 94–96.

37 See Derchain 2000; Lloyd 2002; Legras 2004; Gorre in this volume. A prominent place among the Egyptian collaborators of the early Ptolemies is attributed to the priest Manetho of Sebennytos, the author of the first Egyptian historiographic work in Greek (Moyer 2011, 84–141; Dillery 2015). Plut. *De Is.* 28 even ascribes to Manetho a role in the creation of the Hellenistic god Sarapis. However, evaluating the actual impact of this figure on the process of acculturation between Greeks and Egyptians under Ptolemy I remains particularly

members who could have played a part in this process of cultural interpretation. For a large amount of scholars of Hellenistic Greek historiography, the most famous among these figures is Hekataios of Abdera, credited with a work *On Egypt* written during the satrapy of Ptolemy and transmitted in excerpts in Diodorus' Book I. However, the actual extent and degree of proximity by which Diodorus quotes Hekataios is debated, nowadays more than ever.[38] Without directly addressing this issue here, a few observations are needed concerning the philosophical representation of the relationship between the pharaoh and the priestly elite in a section of Diodorus (1.70–72) that might depend on Hekataios. According to this text, the illustrious past of Egypt was ensured by the fact that the monarch was not allowed to act independently without being held to account,[39] but rather followed the suggestions of the priests in every detail of his private and official life, thus ensuring that his wise and moderate government would elicit the benevolence of his subjects. Diodorus' Egyptian priests are deeply influenced by the late developments of Plato's political thought (especially in the *Laws*), replacing the rule of ideal philosophers with that of real politicians, whose activity must be directed by the respect of legal norms. Moreover, the biographic tone of the excursus, by which the principles of the good government are not discussed *in abstracto*, but in relation to the education and government of a monarch, closely recalls the Hellenistic genre *On Kingship*,[40] with the difference that here, Greek philosophers are replaced by Egyptian priests.

Once we go beyond this surface reading, however, the assumption that the Egyptian priests held the key for a legitimate government faithfully mirrors the native elite members' claim to be the holders of the traditions according to which the difference between a legitimate or illegitimate pharaoh could be evaluated.[41] While the importance of Egyptian temples for monarchic legitimacy had already been made clear to Alexander, who initiated his rule of Egypt by paying homage to the Apis bull, Greek intellectuals residing in Egypt in the early Hellenistic period may have exploited the multiplied occasions for deeper exchanges with their Egyptian counterpart and consequently refined the Greek understanding of the priests' key cultural and socio-political role. With all the caution required by the complex state of *Quellenforschung*

risky: under debate is not only the chronology of his work (under Ptolemy I or II), but even the possibility of distinguishing it from the later tradition which grew around his name (see Aufrère 2007 and 2012).

38 See the overview of the debate in Caneva 2019; Muntz 2011 and 2017, 22–23, comes to a perhaps too skeptical conclusion about the possibility of understanding some aspects of Hekataios' work through Diodorus.

39 Interestingly, this statement puts Diodorus' interpretation of pharaonic kingship in clear contrast to late-classical and early-Hellenistic philosophical understandings of Greek *basileia* as *anhypeuthynos arche*, "unaccountable power" (Murray 2007).

40 On this Hellenistic genre, see Bertelli 2002; Murray 2007; Haake 2013.

41 On the role of Egyptian priests in late-pharaonic Egypt, see Moyer 2002 and 2011, 42–83. Blasius and Schipper 2002 and Hoffmann and Quack 2007, 148–161, cover various aspects of the discussion concerning Egyptian prophetic and apocalyptic literature, by which Egyptian priests could express negative evaluations of past pharaohs in relation to their own expectations of royal piety and euergetism towards the temples. Conversely, the Ptolemaic priestly decrees shed light on the positive aspects of pharaonic euergetism: see Clarysse 2000; Pfeiffer 2004, 200–229; Caneva 2019.

concerning Diodorus' Egyptian excursus, it is tempting to imagine that at least some of the observations made, among others, by Hekataios, may have provided the Greco-Macedonian entourage of Ptolemy with more refined cultural tools to improve negotiations for power legitimacy, by leveraging the right aspects of the Egyptian theology of power and by stressing common ideological motifs which would ultimately lead to a discourse of fruitful collaboration between Macedonians and Egyptians.

Ptolemy and Sarapis: Between royal promotion and *laissez-faire*?

Scholars agree that intercultural contacts in late-dynastic Egypt, and more precisely the Greek reception of Egyptian cults in 4th century Memphis, constituted the first historical environment where the cult of the Hellenistic god Sarapis came to existence.[42] The Greek interpretation of the deceased Apis bull, embalmed and unified with Osiris as Osiris-Apis (*Wsỉr-Ḥp*) in the necropolis of Saqqara, preluded the success of the Hellenized cult of Sarapis in Alexandria, from which the fame of the god further spread to the Eastern Mediterranean world.[43] Within this framework, a still open issue concerns the evaluation of the role played by the first Macedonian rulers in the introduction of Sarapis' cult in Alexandria. Keeping aside the unconvincing hypothesis that this process was directly patronized by Alexander,[44] scholars usually assign Ptolemy I a proactive role in the process of cross-cultural synthesis that led to the rise of this new god, even though the ultimate objectives of this program escape us. Once the hypothesis of a cult meant to reach both the Greek and Egyptian subjects has been rightfully rejected,[45] the promotion of Sarapis' cult by Ptolemy I has been associated with the royal connotation that this god inherited from Osiris.[46]

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42 Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000; Quack 2013; see already Wilcken in *UPZ* I, p. 18–29, and Fraser 1967. The non-Egyptian provenance of the god in a part of the Greek and Latin sources of the imperial period must be seen as a narrative device translating the process of *interpretatio* of the Egyptian god in geographical terms (Fassa 2013, 120–121). On the fictional narrative identifying the Pontic city of Sinope as the provenance of the statue of Sarapis, see Barat 2009 and 2010, arguing for an early-Imperial invention of this tradition.

43 That Greek intellectuals soon saw the dead Apis behind Sarapis is suggested by a passage of Nymphodoros of Amphipolis' work *On the customs of Asia* (or *of the barbarians*), thought to have been composed around 300 BCE and transmitted in Clem. *Strom.* 1.21.106 (Müller *FGH* II 380). The author speculated on the etymology of the god's name, which he derived from Soroapis, "Apis of the coffin." The source of this discussion must have been Egypt, probably the intellectual milieu of the Alexandrian court, which confirms that the definition of the Greek identity of the god was an ongoing process during the reign of Ptolemy I.

44 See Fraser 1967 for a rejection of this hypothesis, which had been advocated by Welles 1962. More recently, Alexander's initiative has been restated by Legras 2014, 102, who thinks of a plan, established by the king and implemented by Kleomenes, to provide Alexandria with a poliadic god. However, the idea that Sarapis was the poliadic god of Alexandria seems to be based on hindsight, since the epiclesis *Polieus* is not used for Sarapis (or for Zeus Sarapis) before the Roman period. Moreover, neither the cultic honors paid by Alexander III to the sacred bull Apis (Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.4–5), nor those financed by Ptolemy I (Diod. 1.84.8), can be interpreted in relation to the cult of Sarapis. These were acts of piety meant to create a positive bond with the priestly elite and thus to have the new sovereigns inscribed within the tradition of good and legitimate Egyptian rulers.

45 Against this hypothesis, see among others Quack 2013.

46 See e.g. Pfeiffer 2008a; Fassa 2013; Legras 2014.

While this assumption may be to a certain extent correct, much of its success seems to depend on the authority of the ancient aetiological narratives transmitted by Tacitus and Plutarch, which give Ptolemy I the protagonist role.[47] However, these stories, probably based on a common source of the Flavian period (1st century CE), have been proved to re-elaborate a limited and hardly detectable core of historical events with a large amount of later materials and standard storytelling patterns. Accordingly, the protagonist role that they ascribe to Ptolemy I can be seen as a combination between the acknowledgement of the early success of Sarapis in Ptolemaic Egypt, historical hindsight based on the later patronizing policy of Ptolemy III and IV,[48] and the storytelling pattern of the Egyptian *Königsnovelle*, traditionally presenting ancient pharaohs as the protagonists of stories explaining the cause of historical events.[49] Starting from these premises, in what follows I argue that even though the royal connotations of Osiris-Apis may have been known to Ptolemy since the time when he held his capital in Memphis,[50] our evidence does not allow us to project back onto his rule the growing commitment of his successors and of their court to the promotion of Sarapis as a royal deity and a divine counterpart of the king.[51]

The few preserved traces of the intellectual discussion about Sarapis under Ptolemy I point to the healing and funerary aspects of the god, rather than to his royal connotation, as those which drew more attention in the cultural milieu hosted at the Alexandrian court.[52] These features equally emerge from the early-Ptolemaic epigraphic

[47] Tac. *Hist.* 4.83–84; Plut. *De Is.* 27–28.

[48] On Ptolemy III's commitment to the promotion of the cult of Sarapis, see McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004; Sabottka 2008; Bergman 2010, 126–127; Bricault 2013, 92–94; Caneva and Bricault 2019. On Sarapis and Isis as Savior Gods in the dedications concerning Ptolemy IV, after the battle of Raphia, 217 BCE, see Bricault 1999.

[49] See Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000; Burstein 2012; Paarmann 2013.

[50] The XXXth dynasty architectural program at Saqqara is fundamental in this respect (Arnold 1999, 109–111, 130–131; Devauchelle 2010, 60; Wojciekowska 2016, 44, 59). The age of the Nektanebids strengthened the link between the cult of Osiris-Apis and pharaonic kingship in Memphis at a dual level: 1) through the royal commitment to the building program of the Saqqara Serapeum, and 2) through the introduction of priests of the statue cult of the Nektanebids (especially of Nektanebo II). While traces of this cult have been found in various locations in Egypt, the concentration of the evidence and the longer duration of the cult in Memphis (down to the end of the 3rd century: see De Meulenaere 1960; Gorre 2009b) could be explained as a consequence of the particular importance of the architectural program of the dynasty in this area.

[51] A specific link between the cult of Sarapis and the rising Ptolemaic ruler cult has been proposed by Pfeiffer 2008a for the reign of Ptolemy II, with arguments that I share in many respects (see also Caneva and Bricault 2019). To the scenario evoked by Pfeiffer, one can add the analysis, by Thiers 2007b, of lines 10–11 of the Mendes stele (written *ca.* 263–257 BCE), where Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (by then already deceased and deified) are allusively equated to the divine couple Osiris and Isis; this detail provides the first known Egyptian parallel to the sibling-marriage of Zeus and Hera of the Greek court poetry.

[52] For the funerary dimension of Sarapis, see above. Concerning the medical characterization of the god, see Diog. Laert. 5.76, reporting that Demetrios of Phaleron, who arrived in Alexandria in 297 BCE, wrote paeans to Sarapis after personally experiencing the healing power of the god. Artem. *Oneirocritika* 2.44 adds that Demetrios wrote a compilation of cases of divine healing, many of which were caused by Sarapis. The historicity of Demetrios' interest in Sarapis is accepted by Fraser 1967, 41 and Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000, 50. In agreement with these scholars, I find it unlikely that the works concerning Sarapis which were transmitted in antiquity under the name Demetrios could have entirely circulated via a pseudepigraphic tradition (*contra*, cf. Renberg 2016, 342).

documentation from Saqqara, where the religious participation of the Greeks reveals a high degree of continuity with the local traditions of the pre-Macedonian period.[53] Conversely, the Alexandrian documentation (if we accept the chronology dating it under Ptolemy I) is too vague in this respect, but is interesting inasmuch as it supports an early association of Sarapis and Isis in personal dedications, a feature which could mirror the situation at Saqqara.[54] Of particular importance is a dedication to Sarapis and Isis *hyper* a king Ptolemy and his sons by two Alexandrian citizens (*I. Ptol. Alex.* 1). The text is usually dated to the reign of Ptolemy I because of the absence of the patronymic accompanying the name of later kings.[55] With this early chronology, the dedication provides the first specimen of a type of text well documented under Ptolemy II, and which reveals a link between the promotion of the cult of Sarapis by the members of the Greco-Macedonian elite and their self-promotion in relation to rulers.[56]

A tentative evaluation of the degree of involvement of Ptolemy I in the promotion of the cult of Sarapis at Alexandria cannot overlook the archaeological evidence, which suggests the probable existence, at Rhakotis, of a sanctuary of the god before that of Euergetes, under the reign of Ptolemy I or II.[57] However, even if we accept a

[53] For the Egyptian documentation, see Devauchelle 2010, 57–59, focusing on the hieroglyphic funerary stelae of the Memphis high priests. For the Greek documents, see Nachtergael 1999 (*SEG* 49 2260–2314) on the graffiti written on the sphinxes of the Serapeum *dromos*; Renberg 2016, 403–423, provides an extensive discussion of the Greek and demotic evidence concerning incubation rituals at Saqqara.

[54] See the formula "servant (s) of Sarapis and Isis" by which the pilgrims of the Saqqara Serapeum define themselves in the early Ptolemaic graffiti of the sphinx alley (Nachtergael 1999, 351–352). On Temple A of the Serapeum, jointly dedicated to Osiris-Apis and Isis by Nektanebo II, see Arnold 1999, 130–131. A direct influence of the sanctuary of Osiris-Apis at Saqqara on Serapea of the Ptolemaic period has been argued on an architectural level for Alexandria (McKenzie, Gibson and Ryes 2004, 83–84; Yoyotte 2010, 34) and Philadelphia (Hölbl 1993, 24; Pfeiffer 2008a, 404).

[55] I see this date as plausible, despite the skepticism of Legras 2014, 105–106. Two other inscriptions (*I. Ptol. Alex.* 2 and 4) are statue bases, found within the enclosure of the Serapeum of Rhakotis. Because neither text preserves a royal dedicatory formula, the proposed date *ca.* 300–275 BCE exclusively depends on paleographic grounds and should therefore be taken with caution.

[56] We do not know what the two donors of *I. Ptol. Alex.* 1 dedicated to the divine couple, but this lack of precision points by itself to a difference with the later dedications of the reign of Ptolemy II. All of these testify to major initiatives concerning the establishment of Serapea in Alexandria (*I. Ptol. Alex.* 5 for the *temenos* dedicated by the governor of Libya, Archagathos, and his wife; *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59355, v°, cl. I, l. 128; Ps.-Call. A 1.33.13, and Call. *Iamb.* 1, fr. 191 and *Dieg.* for the Serapeum of Parmeniskos, whose relation with the Rhakotis Serapeum is disputed), probably at Memphis (*P. Cair. Zen.* I 59024, the famous letter of Zoilos to the *dioiketes* Apollonios), at Philadelpheia (Fayum; *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59168, Serapeum built under the direction of the same Apollonios, near an already existing Iseum); cf. the *hieron* of Isis and Anubis dedicated by the admiral Kallikrates at Kanopos (*SB* I 429). Outside Egypt, see the *hieron* dedicated to Sarapis, Isis and Arsinoe Philadelphos at Halikarnassos (Caneva and Bricault 2019, with a correction and new interpretation of *RICIS* 305/1702); the so-called "sanctuary of the Egyptian gods" at Thera, used by an association of Ptolemaic soldiers called Basilistai (*RICIS* 202/1202), might point to the same kind of initiative. For a discussion of these texts and the light they shed on the role of Ptolemaic elites in the dissemination of the cult of Sarapis, see Pfeiffer 2008a; Renberg and Bubelis 2011; Legras 2014, 106–109.

[57] McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004, 83–84. The identification of these early structures as a sanctuary of Sarapis, or of his Egyptian counterpart Osiris-Apis, seems plausible (*contra*, cf. Sabottka 2008, 66, who sees this interpretation as purely speculative). The question of the building date cannot be solved by the ancient chronographic texts, who date the "arrival" of Sarapis in Alexandria either at the end of the reign of Ptolemy I or during the early years of his son (Legras 2014, 102).

date under Ptolemy I, and we assume that the sanctuary was indeed founded on royal rather than on private initiative (a point which remains uncertain), the establishment of a new cult place for the god in a city which was still largely under construction does not imply *per se* that Ptolemy was pursuing a specific program of promotion of Sarapis as a royal deity.

A more fruitful path to reassess the role of Ptolemy I is to view it within the broader framework of the success of Osiriac cults in the Memphite and western Delta areas in the transitional period between the XXXth dynasty and the consolidation of the Macedonian rule over Egypt.[58] Devauchelle's study of the Osiriac cults in 1st millennium Saqqara compellingly shows that in the religious framework in which the Hellenomemphites met the god later named Sarapis, Osiris had long been the major deity, honored in funerary contexts via his various manifestations as Osiris-Apis, Apis-Osiris, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.[59] The attention paid by the XXXth dynasty to the cult of the funerary Osiris of Saqqara and the continuity shown by the early Hellenistic religious life there, urge us to reconsider the agency of Ptolemy I beyond the narrow scope of a personal religious policy. The question is therefore how Ptolemy I and his court positioned themselves in relation to this proto-Hellenistic, Greco-Egyptian Delta *koine*.

The recent archaeological explorations of the western Delta point to a diffused spread of Osiriac cults during the period that interests us, with Memphis as the epicenter with regard to the dominating theological and ritual traditions.[60] The scale of this phenomenon exceeds the possible reach of a religious program of Ptolemy I, which is usually associated with the sole Alexandria. Moreover, the evidence points to a role of non-royal personal euergetism in the dissemination of Osiriac cults in

58 Goddio 2007a and 2007b offer an overview of the archaeological campaigns conducted between 1996 and 2006 on the sites of (from west to east) Alexandria, Taposiris Parva, Herakleopolis/Thonis, and Kanopos. Devauchelle 2010 and 2012 provide the preliminary results of a study of the cult of Apis in Egypt, with focus on the relationship between the sacred bull of Memphis and the cult of Osiris at Saqqara in the 1st millennium BCE.

59 As pointed out by Devauchelle 2010 and 2012, the denominations Osiris-Apis, or Apis-Osiris, by which the deceased and embalmed Apis is venerated at Saqqara, constitute a central aspect of Osiris' cult as the god supervising the cycle of death and rejuvenation in 1st millennium Memphis. The cult of Apis remained substantially untouched during the Hellenistic period, whereas bilingual texts point to Osiris as the Egyptian counterpart of the Hellenistic god Sarapis. The priority of Osiris over Apis when it comes to identifying the Egyptian correspondent of Sarapis in bilingual sources was already stressed by Stambaugh 1972, 36–52; see also Pfeiffer 2008a. However, Devauchelle 2012 seems to go too far when he concludes that Apis did not play any role in the interpretation of Sarapis: cf. the text of Nymphodoros mentioned at n. 43; for a restatement of the role of the deceased Apis, see Quack 2013.

60 The site of Taposiris Parva hosted a necropolis with underground tombs of individuals and of sacred animals, the earliest among which date to the end of the 4th century (Yoyotte 2010, 36; for the close link between Osiris and Sarapis on this site, see the dedication *OGIS* 97, with discussion in Caneva 2016b, 50–57). The sacred enclosure of Amun and Khonsu-Herakles at Thonis/Herakleion, whose maximum splendor is archaeologically dated to the period between the 4th and 2nd century BCE, contained a large stone basin, which has been interpreted as an "Osiris bed" filled with seeded earth, following a long-existing tradition in Egypt (Goddio 2007a, 78, 88; Yoyotte 2010, 37). Another factor of continuity between the late-dynastic and the early-Ptolemaic periods is provided by the cult of Isis at Naukratis, for which see Legras 2014, 99–101.

the Delta.[61] By adopting a chronological perspective embracing the long transitional phase between the late-dynastic and the early-Hellenistic period, we may wonder if the importance of these personal initiatives in the promotion of Osiriac cults should not be seen as an Egyptian model for the numerous Greek personal dedications to Sarapis documented at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.[62]

The reign of Ptolemy I therefore appears as a transitional period between the Nektanebids' architectural program at Saqqara, with its long-term impact on the Memphite and western Delta areas, and the new impetus given under Ptolemy II by the promotion of a link between the royal pair and the Osiris/Sarapis-Isis couple.[63] When compared with his Egyptian forerunners and his Ptolemaic successors, Ptolemy I did not do more than accompany an ongoing process. His most direct legacy perhaps consisted of hosting Greek and Egyptian intellectuals at court, who actively contributed to the cultural exchange leading to the definition of the Hellenistic god Sarapis. However, the degree to which this process was actively steered by Ptolemy remains impossible to grasp beyond the standard narrative patterns of the aetiological traditions transmitted by the Greek and Latin sources of the Roman period.

Within this framework, the seminal contribution given by Ptolemy I to the rise of Sarapis rather seems to have been an indirect one: the movement of the capital from Memphis to Alexandria. By making Alexandria the new political and cultural motor of Egypt, Ptolemy substantially changed the social and ethnic setting in which the cross-cultural interpretation of the god of Saqqara took place. The passage from the Memphite Oserapis, the god invoked in the famous 4th century curse of Artemisia (*UPZ* I 1), to Sarapis as the recipient of the earliest Alexandrian inscriptions reflects the shift from a traditional Egyptian setting frequented by Greek residents to a newly founded, ethnically mixed city (but in most respects properly Greek), rapidly ascending to the role of a Mediterranean metropolis.

In search for a political significance of Sarapis for Ptolemy I as satrap and king, one may suggest that the integration of this god in the pantheon of Alexandria provided Ptolemy with the cultural leverage to achieve two objectives: building up bonds between the old and new Greek inhabitants of the Delta, and imposing Alexandria as a new epicenter of the cultural and religious trends of the region. However, the consequences of this process would only come to maturity under his successors, and its full exploitation for the promotion of Ptolemaic kingship could hardly be dissociated from the agenda of these later kings.

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[61] Several small chapels used in contexts of personal devotion have been found both within the sanctuary at Herakleion and along the canal connecting this town with Canopus, which was used on the occasion of the Khoiak festival (Yoyotte 2010, 37–38). Regrettably, Thiers 2005's analysis of personal euergetism in the Egyptian temples of the Hellenistic period does not specifically address the case of Sarapis.

[62] Fassa 2015.

[63] In its turn, the reign of Ptolemy II preluded the golden age of Ptolemaic royal support to the cult of Sarapis, inaugurated by the monumentalization of the Rhakotis Serapeum by Ptolemy III. This is the first architectural intervention in favor of Sarapis that can be unmistakably attributed to a Ptolemy.

Dionysos, Alexander and Ptolemaic kingship: The importance of a cross-media analysis

One of the strong points in the modern portraits of Ptolemy is the assumption that he was a restrained, practical person who did not indulge in the most colorful aspects of Alexander's career and even went so far as to censor some troublesome episodes from his historical account of the Asian campaign, thus fashioning a figure of the Macedonian king in compliance with his own view of leadership.[64] While not intending to question this evaluation as regards the focus and tone of Ptolemy's *Hypomnemata* or his role in the historiographical tradition on Alexander, I see it necessary to re-contextualize it within the broader picture of Ptolemy's representation of Alexander by taking into account not only his literary work, but also the channels of visual communication. In a multicultural society with a low degree of literacy, we can assume that the visual language of the sculptural and numismatic iconography would play a greater role in shaping the memory of Alexander for Ptolemy's subjects in Egypt than a Greek historiographic work, the latter rather addressing a Greek-speaking elite across the Hellenistic world.

In this section, I will especially focus on the numismatic evidence from the satrapy and reign of Ptolemy,[65] arguing that the portrait of Alexander provided by this visual medium stands close to the exotic grandeur characterizing the so-called "Vulgate" historiographic tradition about the Macedonian conqueror.[66] When seen from this perspective, Ptolemy's contribution to the definition of Alexander's legend becomes crucial. This impression can be further strengthened by a comparison between his numismatic iconography and the similar motifs later selected and staged by Ptolemy II in his grand procession at Alexandria.

A revealing case is provided by the place attributed to Dionysos in the elaboration of the figure of Alexander as a deified world conqueror, as well as in the establishment of an ideological link between Alexander, Dionysos and Ptolemy. The starting point of the discussion can be the Dionysiac characterization of Alexander in Ptolemy II's procession, where the statues of the king and of the god make their appearance on elephants. In Athen. 5.200d, a statue of Dionysos in a royal attire enters the scene lying

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[64] See among others Bingen 2007, 22, and Dreyer 2009. Worthington 2016a, 214–215 suggests that Ptolemy may have omitted some episodes (like the murder of Kleitos) also because they would have shed a negative light on his efficacy as a bodyguard of Alexander. On Ptolemy's report and Arrian's statement about the truthfulness of a king, see Howe in this volume.

[65] For a detailed analysis of the monetary strategies of Ptolemy I, see Lorber 2005; 2012a, 211–214; 2012b; 2014a, 111–117. See also Lorber's chapter in this volume for images of the coins discussed below.

[66] In what follows, I will not address the question of whether Kleitarchos wrote about a decade after Alexander's campaign (and could therefore be known by Ptolemy) or later, during the reign of Ptolemy II. For a recent overview of the debate about the relationship between Ptolemy's and Kleitarchos' historiographic work, see Prandi 2012; Howe 2013. For the present discussion, this point is largely irrelevant, because at whichever time he wrote, Kleitarchos did not represent the official historiographical voice of the Ptolemaic court; this author should rather be understood against the background of the thriving genre of narratives on Alexander, which started circulating soon after his Asian campaign and variably combined eye-witness report and imaginative elaborations (see Prandi 1996, 79–83, 156, 167–168; Caneva 2013a, 194–199; 2016a, 121–124).

on an elephant which bears a golden wreath and is driven by a performer dressed up as a Satyr. The appearance of this statue, which marks the beginning of the section staging Dionysos' triumphal return from India, is paralleled, at 202a, by a golden statue of Alexander, flanked by Nike and Athena and brought on a cart pulled by real elephants.

The link between the elephant and Alexander's military achievements in the East is well-known and its visual expression, first testified by the so-called Poros medallions,[67] was developed in Ptolemy I's numismatic issues at two stages. Starting from 320/19 BCE, soon after his conquest of the body of Alexander and the defeat and murder of Perdikkas in Memphis,[68] the satrap of Egypt was the first to design a new obverse for his tetradrachms depicting Alexander as a young beardless man, wearing a headdress in the form of a trumpeting elephant with an aegis around his neck and a ram's horn curling out at the level of his temple.[69] The replacement of Herakles' *leonte* with an elephant scalp probably suggested that Alexander's achievements had passed those of his mythic ancestor.

A new phase was inaugurated by the elephant *quadriga* depicted on the obverse of Ptolemy's new golden staters issued around 298 BCE.[70] This type has Alexander standing on the cart while holding a thunderbolt and the aegis. The chronological concentration of this issue, the lack of golden emissions between 305 and 298 BCE (pointing to an accumulation of gold during these years)[71] and the new obverse of the staters, for the first time portraying Ptolemy as king with the legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, point together to Ptolemy's intention to express via a new, prestigious issue his claim for a direct link between Alexander's achievements as world conqueror and his own monarchic legitimacy. The parallel between the two figures is further stressed by the fact that the portrait of Alexander and the legend ascribing the monetary issue to his name remained in use for Ptolemy's contemporaneous silver tetradrachms.

Around 294 BCE, both the "syncretistic" Alexander and the elephant *quadriga* disappeared from the precious metal issues of Ptolemy; the *quadriga* would not be used anymore, whereas the image of Alexander still appeared in the later bronze coins. However, their memory survived in both cases, since the elephant *quadriga* was

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[67] On the Poros medallions, see Stewart 1993, 201–203; Dahmen 2012, 284–286. On the iconographic link between Alexander and the elephant, and between the elephant and Dionysos' conquest of India, see Schneider 2009; Iossif and Lorber 2010; Meeus 2014, 279–283; Lorber 2014b.

[68] See Lorber 2005, 62–63, and in this volume. Employing the "Low" chronology of Ptolemy's victory over Perdikkas (spring 320, instead of 321 BCE) and of the meeting at Triparadeisos (late summer of the same year) allows us to restate a close chronological sequence between these events and the beginning of the new numismatic issue (Caneva 2016a, 39, n. 34).

[69] On the symbolism of the ram horns in Alexander's portrait, see Fulińska 2014.

[70] Lorber 2005, 60.

[71] As pointed out by Lorber 2005, this issue was not meant to respond to any direct political and military crisis, but must have been prepared in advance. At the same time, the concentrated time of the issue (about half a year) might point to the purpose of celebrating a special event. It would be tempting to surmise that this coincided with the transfer of Alexander's body to Alexandria, yet this remains a hypothesis due to the lack of conclusive evidence. In this volume, Lorber proposes that the issue might correspond to the foundation of Alexander's cult. Unfortunately, the extant papyrological evidence does not allow us to answer the question of whether the priest of Alexander existed before 290 BCE.

directly associated with Alexander in Ptolemy II's procession, while a small bronze statue of Ptolemy II from Alexandria depicts the king with the elephant *exuvia* of Alexander and the club of Herakles.[72]

Another section of Ptolemy II's grand procession presents a cart with statues of Alexander, Ptolemy I, and the god Priapus, each wearing a golden ivy wreath, accompanied by a personification of *Arete* ("Excellence") bearing a golden olive wreath, and by one of the city of Corinth with a golden diadem. After this cart, a number of lavishly ornamented women, also wreathed in gold, personify the cities of Ionia, Asia, and the Aegean islands, which used to be under Persian rule before Alexander's campaign (201d – e).[73] This scene does not only provide an ideologically-oriented reconstruction of Ptolemaic history, whereby the founder of the ruling house is portrayed as Alexander's legitimate heir in the position of *hegemon* of the Greeks, but also, and more poignantly, suggests a correspondence between the two kings and Dionysos through the presence of Priapus, a companion of Dionysos in another scene of the procession,[74] on the side of the two deified kings. Just as the link between Alexander and Dionysos is suggested by the appearance of their statues on elephants in different sections of the parade, so Alexander and Ptolemy take here the place of the god on the side of Priapus.

The birth of the tradition linking Alexander and Dionysos has been studied in detail, revealing that it did not constitute a main ideological motif of Alexander's self-celebration, but rather spread as part of a fast and multi-fold re-elaboration, in the decades after Alexander's death, of some episodes of his Indian campaign, notably the Dionysiac feast of the mount Meros and the Dionysiac march of the Macedonian army through Carmania (eastern Iran).[75] This growing tradition, which played a central role in the "Alexander Vulgate," seems to have been absent or at least of secondary

72 London, *BM* 38442. The identification is made certain by the fact that this statue makes the pair with one of Arsinoe Philadelphos (*BM* 38443) bearing the double cornucopia (*dikeras*). On this group and its link with the Ptolemaic iconography of Alexander, see Caneva 2016a, 152–153, with further references. It has been suggested that large scale statuary reproductions of these motifs may have existed, in Alexandria and/or elsewhere; Hintzen-Bohlen 1993, 78 even uses the iconography of the British Museum bronzes to imagine Kallikrates' monument at Delphi (*OGIS* 26–27). This remains an intriguing hypothesis, yet the possibility that coins could suffice to keep this memory alive cannot be ruled out.

73 Here I summarize and complete my discussion in Caneva 2016a, 112–121.

74 See Athen. 5.201c, staging the arrival of Dionysos and Priapus at the altar of Rhea, to be healed from the *mania* caused by Hera (Caneva 2016a, 108–112). This scene directly precedes that of Alexander and Corinth in the extant report.

75 The Dionysiac feast of the Mount Meros took place after the capture of the northern Indian city of Nysa (Arr. *Anab.* 5.2.5–7; Curt. 8.10.13–17; Just. 12.7.7–8; *Ep. Metz* 36–37). Despite some minor differences in detail, the ancient sources agree on the fact that the Macedonian soldiers interpreted the place as sacred to Dionysos because of the presence of ivy (and perhaps vine), a plant they had not yet encountered in India. Alexander positively responded to this moment of spontaneous enthusiasm by organizing a sacrifice and a feast for the god. The episode of the Dionysiac procession in Carmania belongs to the west-bound march of the Macedonian army returning from India. In this case, the enthusiasm of the soldiers and its transformation into a feast of the army would have been triggered by the end of the dangerous march through the desert of Gedrosia (Baluchistan). The episode is commented in Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 4.4.1; Carystius, *FGrH* IV 358 fr. 4 (= Athen. 10.434f); Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.1–3; Diod. 17.106.1; Curt. 9.10.24–27; Put. *Alex.* 67.1–6. In addition to the classical work by Goukowsky 1981, I refer to Caneva 2013a, 175–184 and 2016a, 121–122, for a detailed discussion of these episodes.

importance in the historical work of Ptolemy. In particular, Arrian contested the historicity of the Dionysiac procession of Carmania arguing that this episode was not mentioned by either Aristobulus or Ptolemy.[76]

The silence of Ptolemy has played a major role in the modern *Quellenforschung* concerning the Alexander historiography, in particular as regards the assumed role of Kleitarchos in the promotion of the link between Alexander and Dionysos.[77] A point, however, needs to be corrected as regards the assumed lack of responsibility of Ptolemy I in the success of this tradition. With the exception of a passage where Theophrastos briefly refers to the use of ivy crowns by Alexander's soldiers coming back from India,[78] the only precedent to the exotic scenes of Ptolemy II's procession representing the return of Dionysos and Alexander from India are provided by the *quadriga* motif on the golden staters issued by Ptolemy I around 298 BCE. This observation forces us to reassess Ptolemy I's engagement with the construction of the tradition associating Alexander with Dionysos and India: if not in his historical work, Ptolemy contributed to the development of this tradition through visual media, with a grandeur fitting his royal status.

Further iconographic links between Dionysos, Alexander and Ptolemy I can be spotted through a comparative analysis of the portraits of Alexander and Ptolemy on Ptolemy's numismatic issues. Although the "syncretistic" features of the silver tetradrachms minted since 320/19 BCE would remain exclusive of Ptolemy's Alexander, the addition, around 314/3 BCE, of a headband worn low on Alexander's forehead established a precedent for Ptolemy's later portrait on the gold staters issued in 298 BCE. As shown by Dahmen,[79] this headband is not yet the later royal diadem worn high on the hair, which only appears on the Diadochs' coins from the 290s BCE,[80] but instead Dionysos' *mitra*.[81] This attribute of Alexander is exclusive of the numismatic portraits issued by Ptolemy,[82] and constitutes a sign that the court was actively

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[76] Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.1–3, with Goukowsky 1981, 47–64; Caneva 2013a, 180–184, 198.

[77] Prandi 1996, 162–164 convincingly argues against the hypothesis of a unique responsibility of Kleitarchos in the tradition associating Alexander and Dionysos.

[78] Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 4.4.1, with discussion in Caneva 2013a, 182–183.

[79] Dahmen 2012. On Alexander's *mitra*, see also Kyrieleis 1975, 7–8; Stewart 1993, 233; Dahmen 2007, 11; 2012, 286–287, 291; Lorber 2011, 306–307; 2012a, 212; 2014, 112, 115–116. Kyrieleis 1975, 7–8 also draws attention to a small bronze bust of Ptolemy I wearing a Dionysiac wreath of vine and ivy, in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 54598). The similarity with the numismatic portrait is striking, but the precise date and context of this artwork remain obscure.

[80] See Dahmen 2012, 288–289 and de Callataÿ 2012, 181, with fig. 10.7, on Lysimachos' portrait of Alexander with the diadem worn high on the hair and above the ram horns (*ca.* 297 BCE). For the portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes with the diadem positioned high on the hair, see de Callataÿ 2012, 180, with fig. 10.5 (292/1 BCE).

[81] Meeus 2014, 279, n. 59, skeptically argues against this distinction, pointing out that the elephant scalp made it impossible to depict the diadem at a higher position, on Alexander's hair. However, the fact that the gold staters of Ptolemy I show the headband still worn low on the forehead, despite the absence of the elephant headdress, shows that the iconographic solution was meant to deliver a precise message. Dahmen 2012, 290–291 points out the absence of the diadem in proto-Hellenistic sculptural and numismatic depictions of Alexander and the Diadochs. Similarly, Haake 2012 observes that the diadem was not an essential attribute of Alexander at the time of the struggle over his body.

[82] Dahmen 2012, 287–288, for the bronze types depicting Alexander with the *mitra* and ram horns, issued by

promoting the Dionysiac characterization of Alexander as a new Dionysos.[83] Moreover, the similarity between Alexander's and Ptolemy's *mitra* on Ptolemaic numismatic portraits visually underlines the continuity between the Macedonian king and his successor, via a feature casting a Dionysiac allure on both of them.[84] Remarkably, even Ptolemy I's newly designed tetradrachms (*ca.* 294 BCE) kept on depicting the *mitra* low on Ptolemy's forehead, as in the previous types.[85]

As pointed out by Lorber in this volume,[86] the innovative metallic and iconographic solutions created by Ptolemy I in his numismatic issues resulted into the creation of a distinctive macro-regional currency, financially constructing and ideologically claiming the specificity of Egypt within the global legacy of Alexander's conquest. Ptolemy's coins conveyed a message of grandeur and exoticism for the public of his subjects, whereas the profile of a restrained, pragmatic military man was delivered to his historiographic account,[87] which was meant to circulate throughout the Hellenized Mediterranean.

Cultic honors and the religious figure of the king

The last common assumption reassessed in this chapter concerns the thesis that Ptolemy was particularly cautious in comparison with other successors of Alexander when it came to promoting his figure at a religious level. Reasons adduced to support this statement are various: a psychological evaluation based on a commonly accepted portrait of Ptolemy as a pragmatic and restrained man; the hypothesis that Ptolemy wanted to avoid antagonizing the Greek cities and the Macedonian elite, a risk he would have run if he had tried to replicate the model of Alexander; finally, Ptolemy's awareness that the memory of Alexander was of seminal legitimating importance for his power, whence the necessity of not averting the attention from the eponymous cult of the Macedonian conqueror in Alexandria.[88] While these arguments may

Ptolemy in the periods *ca.* 315–305 and 305–283 BCE. On the absence of the *mitra* on Seleukos' and Agathokles' contemporaneous types inspired by Ptolemaic issues, see Dahmen 2012, 287.

83 An echo of this tradition may be found in Theocr. 17.19, where Alexander is defined Πέρσαισι βαρὺς θεὸς αἰολομίτρας ("god of the quick-moving *mitra*, source of grief for the Persians"); on the possible link between the *mitra* and Alexander's victory over the Persians in Asia, see Fredricksmeyer 1997, followed by Haake 2012, 295–298.

84 See Lorber 2014a, 115–116.

85 Under Ptolemy II, some specimens of the numismatic portraits of the dynastic founder depict the royal diadem high on the king's hair (see e.g. Lorber 2007, 105, with figure). However, these should be seen as local variations, whereas the low position of the *mitra*-diadem kept on constituting a distinguishing iconographic marker of the numismatic portraits of Ptolemy I even under the later Ptolemies.

86 See also Le Rider 1998, 786.

87 Although this image of Ptolemy, too, is being re-evaluated. See Howe 2018, commentary on T2, F2, F5, F11, F23 and the "Biographical Essay" as well as Howe in this volume.

88 I limit myself to a few relevant cases. For the argument based on Ptolemy's strategic commitment to the sole cult of Alexander, see Fraser 1972, I 215, who also assumes that the idea of a dynastic cult was probably "foreign to his character"; Worthington 2016a, 51, 169, 192, combines an evaluation of Ptolemy's personal restraint with the assumption that he had learnt the lesson of the negative reaction caused by Alexander's *proskynesis* policy.

contain some truth, in what follows their relevance is double-checked in relation to a broader reassessment of which opportunities were available to the Diadochs in general, and, more specifically, to Ptolemy in the light of the socio-political and cultural environments in which he operated.

To date, no systematic study has been dedicated to the attitude of early Hellenistic dynasts towards divinization,[89] which could be compared with Habicht's seminal work on the interaction between royal euergetism and cultic honors in the Greek cities.[90] Habicht consciously left this issue out of the focus of his study, both geographically (his analysis is limited to mainland Greece and Western Asia Minor) and with regard to his method, explicitly contrasting the spontaneous, bottom-up initiatives of Greek cities and the centralized, top-down self-promotion of the dynasts.[91] A consequence of Habicht's choice is that while his work has paved the way for a series of refined analyses of the role of cultic honors in the diplomatic interaction between kings and cities,[92] we still lack a coherent methodological framework allowing us to discuss effectively the attitude of Hellenistic dynasts towards the promotion of their own cults.[93] A fundamental difference emerges when we consider that, unlike the Greek *poleis* studied by Habicht, the activity of many Hellenistic dynasts spanned large geographical areas and interacted with populations different in terms of ethnic composition, political institutions and cultural traditions. This observation implies that, in order to understand the Diadochs' attitude towards cultic honors, we should adopt a perspective of differential comparatism at a dual level: outside the kingdom, between the various kings and dynasties, and inside it, between its different ethnic and political components.

Thus, when evaluating the choices of Ptolemy I, we must keep in mind that his dominion comprised a Mediterranean, Hellenized area with a rich presence of Greek *poleis* and a variety of non-Greek lands (Syria, Phoenicia, and of course Egypt) with specific traditions of power legitimation and a limited presence of autonomous Greek cities. Given these premises, I first discuss the aspects which make the attitude of Ptolemy similar to that of other early-Hellenistic dynasts in relation to the Greek cities. I then focus on the specific socio-cultural and administrative organization of

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89 In this respect, the works of Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957 and Taeger 1957 are outdated with concern both to the evidence and method.

90 Habicht 2017. See also Erskine 2014 for the link between the re-establishment of civic autonomy, especially of democratic regimes, and the grant of cultic honors on early-Hellenistic dynasts.

91 See Habicht 2017, xv and 146, stating the binary opposition between "civic" and "dynastic" cult (for a reassessment of the terminology, see Coppola 2016, 20–21).

92 See in particular Price 1984; Gauthier 1985; and Ma 2002.

93 Various methodological needs are at stake: 1) contrasting global trends and diachronic or geographical specificities in the interaction between the initiatives of royal, civic, and non-institutional agents (persons, associations); 2) identifying the strategies imposed by diverse media and occasions; 3) considering the variety of socio-cultural (including ethnic) and political milieus embraced by a kingdom; 4) differentiating posthumous cults of dynastic predecessors, which are comparable, although with a higher level of grandeur, to the contemporaneous cult foundations of elite families for their deceased relatives, and the initiatives establishing the cult of a living member of the royal family (including self-deification).

Egypt and on its impact on the actual possibilities, for Ptolemy, to pursue a strategy of power legitimation comprising the establishment of cultic honors.

As far as we know, Ptolemy did not take up any centralized initiative for the establishment of his own cult. However, neither did the other Diadochs. Our evidence, even that concerning the notorious (following the anti-Macedonian perspective of our literary sources) honors for Antigonos and Demetrios, their women and collaborators at Athens and Thebes, points to the initiative of civic institutions rather than of the dynasts themselves.[94] As a matter of fact, at this early date, civic initiatives for the establishment of ruler cults could not follow, or be guided by, centralized royal initiatives simply because the latter had not yet come into existence. The first case of self-deification of living monarchs belongs to the generation of the Epigoni: Ptolemy II and his sibling-wife Arsinoe II deified themselves as the couple of Theoi Adelphoi in 272/1 BCE,[95] adding their cult to the prerogatives of the eponymous priest which had been established by their father Ptolemy I for the city founder Alexander.[96] Nothing similar had existed during the first generation of Hellenistic rulers, and the Ptolemaic experiment in a centralized self-deification would remain unique until the late 3rd century.[97]

Nothing in our evidence suggests that Ptolemy acted differently from the other Diadochs when faced with the initiatives of Greek cities granting him cultic honors in exchange for an extraordinary act of euergetism.[98] The Rhodians first (in 305/4 BCE), and later the Aegean cities of the League of the Islanders (in 288–86 BCE), acclaimed Ptolemy as their savior and established cults addressed to him out of gratitude for his decisive intervention in moments of greatest danger for the civic communities.[99] One

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94 See Habicht 2017, 31–42, with a chronological discussion of the various phases between 307/6 and 294 BCE; Kuhn 2006 deals with the ritual honors for Demetrios together with the broader category of extraordinary privileges requested by Demetrios, or spontaneously offered by the Athenians, in relation to the religious life of the city. In one case, the initiative of cultic honors stems from some collaborators of Demetrios (Caneva 2016a, 143–145): see below.

95 *P. Hib.* II 199, with Caneva 2016a, 163.

96 On the importance of oikists' traditions in the establishment of posthumous cults for the early-Hellenistic dynasts, see Leschhorn 1984; Muccioli 2014.

97 For the establishment of the Seleucid cult of ancestors under Antiochos III, see Iossif 2014, with references to the previous debate. For the Attalids, see Schwartzer 1999; 2011; Hamon 2004. The Antigonids never developed a centralized dynastic cult (Mari 2008).

98 Already in the pre-Hellenistic period, exceptional circumstances could lead Greek cities to acclaim their greatest benefactors as saviors, either during their lifetime or on the occasion of their public funerals. Such an honor could be accompanied by the grant of durable cultic honors. See the case of Gelon at Syracuse, in 479 BCE (Diod. 11.26); Brasidas at Amphipolis, in 422 BCE, (Thuc. 5.11.1); Lysander at Samos, in 404 BCE (Plut. *Lys.* 18); Dion at Syracuse, in 356/5 BCE (Diod. 16.20.5; Plut. *Dio* 46.1). For the early Hellenistic period, see Antigonos and Demetrios at Athens, in 307/6 BCE (Plut. *Dem.* 10.3–6, 12.1–2, 13; Diod. 20.46.2); Antigonos II at Rhamnous (*SEG* XLI 75); Seleukos I at Lemnos (Athen. 6.254f = Phylarch. *FGrH* 81 F 29); Seleukos I and Antiochos I at Aigai (*CGRN* 137); Antiochos I and Seleukos III at Seleucia of Pieria (*SEG* 35 1521); Attalos I at Pergamon (see Jim 2017 for a partial list of sources); Aratos at Sikyon, in 213/2 BCE (Polyb. 8.12.7–8; Plut. *Arat.* 53.1–7); Philip V in Macedonia and Thasos (evidence in Jim 2017). For a discussion of *soteria* as a theme closely related to the rise of cultic honors for political leaders, see Nock 1951; Kolde 2003, 365–366; Muccioli 2013, 81–94, 159–178; Erskine 2014, 584–590; Paul 2016; Jim 2015 and 2017; Habicht 2017, 113–115.

99 On the euergetic activity of Ptolemy in Rhodes, see Squillace 2013. On the Rhodians acclaiming Ptolemy as their savior after the siege of Rhodes, see Paus. 1.8.6; on this occasion, Ptolemy received cultic honors in the

may wonder whether Ptolemy promoted the circulation and diffusion of his epiclesis Soter in his lifetime and, more generally, if stimulating the grant of cultic honors by Greek cities was part of his strategy of power legitimation. To the first question, the analysis of the documents issued by the League of the Islanders during the early years of Ptolemy II gives a negative answer.

We may assume that, if Ptolemy I had promoted the diffusion of the epithet Soter as his official title, the Islanders would have followed the standard protocol in their decrees. On the contrary, the Nikouria decree (*SIG*^{3} 390; *ca.* 280 BCE),[100] by which the confederation of the Aegean cities accepted Ptolemy II's request to confer Isolympic status to the Alexandrian festival he organized in honor of his father (the Ptolemaia), employs the epithet Soter in a variety of ways which speak against the existence of an already fixed formulary. On the other hand, the phraseology of the decree also sheds light on a more formulary usage of the epithet. An example comes from Ptolemy I being called "King and Savior" in a passage evoking the past benefactions of this king towards the Islanders.[101] The same formula is repeated in the patronymic of the new king Ptolemy II.[102] A particularly interesting case is provided by the reference to the sacrifice accomplished by the League's representatives in Delos "to Ptolemy Soter" (line 56: Πτολεμαίωι Σωτῆρι): here the epiclesis directly follows the personal name Ptolemy, without the article. Thus, the most plausible scenario is that the Islanders acclaimed Ptolemy I as their savior, as a reaction to his benefactions towards them, and that the process of standardization of this epiclesis, which would ultimately turn into the official title of the dynastic founder, did not start before the last years of Ptolemy I, or even during the early reign of his successor.[103] Around 280, the documents of the Aegean League still shed light on an active laboratory of international diplomacy, promoting what we could call a semi-standard use of Ptolemy I's epithet.

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city, which are described by Diod. 20.99–100 and Gorgon of Rhodes, *FGrH* 515 F 19. On the *isotheoi timai* and the epiclesis Soter granted to Ptolemy by the Islanders, see *SIG*^{3} 390 (the so-called "Nikouria decree," with Hauben 2004 and 2010; Constantanopoulou 2017, 41–43), *IG* XI 4, 1038 (honorific decree for Sostratos of Knidos), and *IG* XII 4, 135 (Naxian decree for Koan judges). The origins and developments of the epithet Soter as used of Ptolemy I are also discussed in Muccioli 2013, 81–94. There is no reason to reject the assumption of Ptolemy being acclaimed as Savior in Rhodes for his help against Demetrios' siege. The skeptical arguments made by Hazzard 1992 and Worthington 2016b against the case of Rhodes are based on a too schematic understanding of the sources. However, Pausanias, or his literary source (probably a Rhodian historian), misinterpreted a local acclamation as the act of foundation of the official dynastic title of Ptolemy I. Conversely, the standardization of Ptolemy's epithet Soter took much more time and its final phase can be dated to the end of Ptolemy II's co-regency with Ptolemy the Son (259/8 BCE).

[100] Hauben 2004; 2010; Pfeiffer 2015, 35–41, no. 6; Constantakopoulou 2017, 37–40, 50–51.

[101] Lines 10–11: ἐπειδὴ ὁ | [Β]ασιλεὺς καὶ Σωτὴρ Πτολεμαῖος etc.

[102] Lines 43–44: τὸ[μ Βα]σιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Βασιλέως καὶ | [Σ]ωτῆρος Πτολεμαίου.

[103] *Contra*, see Huß 2001, 239, accepting the date 304 BCE proposed by Bresciani in her edition of an ink graffito from Deir el-Bahari, MDAI (K) 39 (1983), 103–105. According to Bresciani, the dating formula mentions the 2nd year of "Ptolemy I Soter." However, the reading of the *editio princeps* has been rejected by Vleeming (2015), 147–149, no. 1529, who reads Soter as part of the patronymic of Ptolemy II, to whose reign the text should be dated.

The second question, concerning the extent to which the promotion of cultic honors could have constituted an active strategy of Ptolemy (or of other Diadochs) in his interactions with Greek cities, should be answered bearing in mind the broad framework of contemporaneous diplomatic exchanges between *poleis* and kings. To my knowledge, the Hellenistic evidence does not provide any case of civic honors being refused by their recipients,[104] a practice which would become common in the Roman period.[105] Accepting higher-than-normal (i.e. ritual)[106] honors for extraordinary benefactions became a normal practice for the Hellenistic euergetic king, just as granting such honors soon turned into the religious grammar of fruitful diplomatic exchanges between cities and monarchs. Therefore, if we wish to argue that Ptolemy strategically avoided repeating Alexander's active requests for cults not to antagonize the Greek cities, we must accept that this argument applies to his rivals as well. Moving to the internal affairs of the *polis*, the support of the monarchs was essential for the dominant party to keep under control and marginalize the internal opposition.[107] As a consequence, cultic honors provided cities with a solution to sanction successful collaborations ensuring stability at both the internal and international level.[108] Starting from these observations, we can conclude that, at least before the establishment of centralized dynastic cults, the multiplication of civic honorific initiatives does not speak in favor of a certain dynast's particular keenness on cultic honors, but sheds light on the efficacy of his foreign policy and on the proactivity of the *polis* institutions to seize the opportunity of enhancing stability in times of internal and/or external crisis.

We must now leave Greece to move to the core of Ptolemy's reign, Egypt. Again, a comparison with Demetrios Poliorketes is revealing: unlike in mainland Greece and in the Aegean cities,[109] Antigonos' son did not receive any cult in Macedonia

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104 If we believe Demochares, quoted by Athen. 6.253a-b, Demetrios was embarrassed by the excess of flattery expressed by the Athenians through their granting of cultic honors to his mistresses and collaborators. The details of the passage of Clem. *Protrept.* 4.54.6, whereby the Athenians grant Demetrios a symbolic *hierogamia* with Athena, but the dynast disdains the goddess and rather spends the night at the acropolis with his mistress Lamia, should be treated with some reserves (Kuhn 2006, 273–274). In any case, neither episode can be taken as indicating Demetrios' formal refusal of the honors decreed by the city.

105 For the cases of refusal of cultic honors by Roman Emperors, see Rosso 2016. For the precedent of Cicero (*Att.* 5.21.7), see Price 1980, 39. A decree of the city of Kyme in Aeolis for the civic benefactor Q. Vaccius Labeo provides a case of an elite member rejecting the cultic honors decreed for him by the civic institutions. Labeo acted out of conformism with the contemporaneous policy of Augustus; his Italic origins may have played a role in this (*I. Kyme* 19; 2 BCE–14 CE).

106 As pointed out by Gauthier 1985 and Habicht 2017, 153, non-ritual honors for traditional civic benefactors and ritual honors for dynasts acting as super-benefactors diverge in terms of grandeur, but originate from the same political culture of the Greek *poleis*.

107 The link between religious criticism against cultic honors and political opposition to the party decreeing them, is particularly evident at Athens, thanks to the abundancy of anti-Macedonian literary sources (Mari 2003 and 2009, 98–102; Habicht 2017, 41, 93–99); this must have been the case in all contexts where the establishment of cultic honors followed a change of regime; see Erskine 2014.

108 On this point, se Ma 2002.

109 For the cults granted by the League of the Islanders to Antigonos and Demetrios (314–288 BCE), see Kotsidu 2000, 193–198, nos. 120–123; Constantakopoulou 2012, 33–37; Habicht 2017, 42–44. The early history of the

during his lifetime.[110] This similarity between Demetrios' Macedonia and Ptolemy's Egypt warns against the methodological risks inherent in psychological evaluations overlooking the socio-political environments in which cultic honor were, or were not, established. Under Ptolemy I, Egypt did not provide a fertile terrain to a strategy of legitimation founded on cultic honors. The traditional theology of pharaonic power depicted the monarch as the earthly incarnation of the royal gods, and the coronation ritual stipulated the fusion of the human leader with his divine *Ka*. However, Egyptian pharaohs did not regularly receive cults during their lifetime, but as deceased ancestors.[111] Besides, specific cults could be introduced for particularly worthy pharaohs who had been responsible for extraordinary accomplishments in supporting the religious life of the local temples, as in the case of the above-mentioned cults for the Nektanebids.[112] While Ptolemy's reign might have paved the way to the development of a fruitful collaboration between the Macedonian rulers and at least a part of the Egyptian priestly elite, it was only under his son Ptolemy II that a strengthened and more organized policy of royal support to the temples set the premises for the first Ptolemaic cult being integrated in the ritual prerogatives of the Egyptian priestly elite: the (posthumous) cult of Arsinoe the "Brother-Loving" goddess.[113]

The situation was, perhaps at first sight surprisingly, not much more favorable on the side of the Greek population in Egypt. With the exception of Alexandria, Greek cities, which as seen above constituted the most important promoters of cultic honors at the time, played a secondary role in Ptolemy's plans for Egypt.[114] Moreover, the limited autonomy they enjoyed, with the reduced space for internal political strife that this entailed, and the relative stability of Egypt under Ptolemy I deprived Egypt of the political scenario that triggered the multiplication of cultic honors in continental Greece and in Asia Minor.

The observation that political stability and a pervasive presence of the royal power would work against the proliferation of cultic honors may appear paradoxical at first view. However, it becomes a plausible interpretation when we bear in mind that the

League has recently been entirely rewritten in a contribution by Meadows 2013, who rejected its foundation by Antigonos in 314 BCE and conversely ascribed it to Ptolemy II in the early years of his reign. However, Meadows' arguments remain unconvincing: see Constantakopoulou 2012, 33–35; Pfeiffer 2015, 39–40; Buraselis 2015, 360–361; Landucci 2016, 52–55.

110 See Mari 2008, 247–248. The case of Demetrios' son, Antigonos Gonatas, is revealing in the opposite direction: unlike his father, he is credited by the literary tradition with a negative attitude towards cultic honors, yet he received some at Rhamnous, in a context of civic honors, and certainly did not refuse them (see above; Landucci 2016).

111 Baines 1995; Pfeiffer 2008b, 19–28; Morris 2010.

112 See above, p. 90, 98–99.

113 On the introduction of Arsinoe's cult in the Egyptian temples, see Minas-Nerpel 2000, 93–96; 2018; Thiers 2007a; Collombert 2008; Schäfer 2011; Thompson 2012, 118–123; Caneva 2013b, 300–309; 2016a, 129–178.

114 With the sole foundation of Ptolemais Hermiou, in Upper Egypt, Ptolemy stands out as an exception in an epoch of city-founder sovereigns: see Billows 1995; Cohen 1995; 2006; 2013; Müller 2006 (Ptolemaic settlements). On the other hand, the growth of Alexandria was destined to downgrade the traditional importance of Naukratis as a hub of Mediterranean commerce (Grieb 2014). The limited role of the Greek *polis* will remain a common feature of Hellenistic Egypt until the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

continuous effort of Greek *poleis* to preserve or re-establish their autonomy in times of crisis and instability was a crucial factor in the development of the euergetic discourse underpinning the early-Hellenistic multiplication of civic cultic honors.[115] The possibility that cities acknowledged the euergetic vocation of kingship in contexts of political continuity seems to have emerged at a later stage, and to be related to areas characterized by a durable relationship of subjection or alliance with the same royal household. Evidently, this situation would only become possible after the Diadochs' generation, as a consequence of the consolidation of Hellenistic dynasties.[116]

Analyzing the social and political premises of the early Hellenistic ruler cults implies that we still consider a third type of agents operating between cities and kings: the networks of royal collaborators, counselors, military and administrative officers, with the royal *philoi* at their top, acting as personal promoters of the royal ideology and of the related ruler cult.[117] In Ptolemaic Egypt, the activities of royal collaborators (Greco-Macedonian and Egyptian), members of the administrative establishment and military clerouchs occupied the place which elsewhere belonged to the civic institutions and elites, and became the backbone not only of the Ptolemaic government, but also of the circulation of the formulae and practices of the ruler cults.[118] However, even though Ptolemy, as the other Diadochs, certainly surrounded himself with loyal and valuable collaborators since the beginning of his satrapy, to date a quest for traces of personal initiatives in the promotion of cultic honors produces negative results.

A bilingual, Greek and demotic base originally bearing a small statue of "King Ptolemy Soter" was dedicated by an otherwise unknown Diodotos son of Achaios (Fig. 5.2).[119] The document might date to the last years of the reign of Ptolemy I, or perhaps to the first years of his successor.[120] Its precise context is unknown, although

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115 Habicht 2017, 115–123; Price 1984, 23–52.

116 Commenting on *IC* III iv 4 (*ca.* 246–243 BCE), a decree of the city of Itanos granting cultic honors to Ptolemy III and Berenike II out of gratitude for the king's euergetic attitude towards the city, in continuity with his predecessors, Habicht 2017, 89, no. 43, and especially 175–176, rightfully observed that the mid-3rd century testifies to a shift towards a form of euergetic discourse stipulating the grant of cultic honors not only as a reward for the resolution of punctual crises, but also for the royal capacity to ensure the preservation and endurance of the communities' wealth and peace (see also Jim 2017). On the other hand, Habicht's exclusive focus on civic initiatives prevented him from acknowledging that the civic institutions of Itanos were implementing at a religious level a message of dynastic continuity which Ptolemy III was coherently promoting in the first years of his reign: on this point, see Caneva 2016a, 179–197; 2016c; Caneva and Bricault 2019.

117 On the social role of *philoi* within and outside the royal court, see Savalli-Lestrade 1998; Paschidis 2008 and 2013; Strootman 2013 and 2014, 111–135, 145–184; Wallace 2013.

118 See Fischer-Bovet 2014. With specific focus on personal agency in the diffusion of cultic honors for rulers, see Caneva 2014a and 2016d. It is worth noting that the prominent role of these figures is not an exclusive feature of the Ptolemaic kingdom; conversely, what makes Ptolemaic Egypt unique in the Hellenistic world, with the partial exception of the Seleucid East, is the fact that their activity is not intertwined with, or accompanied by an established network of civic institutions.

119 TM People 6368.

120 For the Greek text, see Breccia 1911, no. 1, and OGIS 19: Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον | Σωτῆρα Διόδοτος Ἀχαίου. The demotic text, essentially a translation of the Greek dedication, was published with different readings by Spiegelberg 1906, 254 no. II, and Vleeming 2011, I, 68–69 no. 98 A-B.



Fig. 5.2 Bilingual statue base, from Breccia 1911, Pl. I.1

the presence of a demotic dedication suggests that the statue was erected in an Egyptian environment, probably a temple. The importance of this inscription derives from the fact that it provides the earliest known evidence for the use of the epithet Soter for Ptolemy I, both in Greek and in Egyptian, in a text issued by a personal agent, perhaps a royal collaborator or an officer, rather than by a civic institution. On the other hand, the lack of information about the context of exposition of the statue prevents us from answering the question of whether this statue played a role in a ritual activity or, perhaps more probably, it was a honorific portrait meant to express Achaios' allegiance to the king.[121]

The identification of Ptolemy I with the recipient (in the dative) of an altar dedicated by an Alexandrian citizen, at Athribis or perhaps at Ptolemais Hermiou, must be rejected on paleographic grounds. The letter forms in this dedication decisively speak against the early date proposed by the editors of the text and rather places the document in the mid/late Ptolemaic period.[122] We may therefore conclude that no clear evidence exists in Egypt, under the reign of Ptolemy I, which could testify to an active role of royal collaborators in the establishment of ruler cults.

The absence of ritual actions addressed by non-institutional agents *to* the monarchs, with the dative equating the human recipients to the traditional gods,

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[121] For the problem of distinguishing cultic and honorific statues on the grounds of more or less decontextualized inscribed bases, see Ma 2013, 45–46, focusing on the ambiguity of the accusative used to refer to the person portrayed by the statue, regardless of whether the statue should be interpreted as a cultic *agalma* or an honorific *eikon*. Chankowski 1998, 169–174 provides a case study from Pergamon concerning the interaction between archaeological data and epigraphic texts.

[122] Wagner and Rondot 1994; J. Bingen in *Bull. Ep.* 1995, 551, no. 661 proposes a date during the 2nd or 1st century BCE (see also *SEG* 44 1507). Considering that carefully written Ptolemaic inscriptions like this one often show a conservative writing style (see Del Corso 2017), the possible coherence of some paleographic features with an early date is outbalanced by the rendering of A with a broken cross-bar; this detail is later than the reign of Ptolemy I and rather points to the date proposed by Bingen.

should not surprise at this early stage. Indeed, although already documented in the honorific decrees of the Greek cities since the late 4th century,[123] this practice is not surely attested in early Hellenistic personal dedications before the diffusion of the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos (270–246 BCE).[124] However, a comparison between Ptolemy I and Demetrios Poliorketes can once again point to a useful research path. A passage (Athenaeus 6.253c) concerning the establishment of cultic honors for Demetrios' wife Phila in Attica sheds some revealing light on the role of royal collaborators as promoters of ruler cults in early-Hellenistic courts. The text states that the followers of Adeimantos of Lampsakos, one of the highest-ranking collaborators of Demetrios,[125] erected a temple (*naos*) with cultic statues (*agalmata*) of Aphrodite Phila, later called Philaion, in the locality of Thria, near Eleusis.[126] This initiative reveals that parallel to civic institutions, a circle of followers of a dynast could decide to demonstrate at a religious level their allegiance to their master, no doubt with the purpose of increasing the social prestige and influence of Adeimantos at court, and therefore their own.

The Philaion of Thria provides an interesting precedent to the erection, one generation later, of the Arsinoeion of Cape Zephyrion by the Ptolemaic admiral Kallikrates of Samos.[127] A comparison between these two episodes draws attention to the faster pace at which Demetrios' court reacted to the ongoing diffusion of cultic

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[123] This feature appears as early as the first documented case of a civic cult to a Diadoch: *OGIS* 6, lines 22–26, for Antigonos at Skepsis (311/0 BCE), with Habicht 2017, 30–31, no. 19.

[124] See the catalogue of documents in Caneva 2014a, 110–111, 113–114; see also Fassa 2015. Huß 1977, 137 erroneously points to the reign of Ptolemy III as the context of the first rise of this practice. We should rather interpret the reign of Ptolemy III as the period when personal dedications to the monarchs became a well-established habit. Even later, the Ptolemies would remain the most represented dynasty with concern to dative personal dedications to the kings, with a new concentration in Upper Egypt under Ptolemy VI and VIII (Caneva 2016c, 134–142). To my knowledge, only two uncertain dossiers might contradict this chronology. The first comes from Thasos: see Hamon 2015, 116–123, on two blocks with dedications concerning "King Philip Soter," identified by this scholar with Philip II. This early chronology, however, remains uncertain (see also Jim 2017). The second dossier includes two inscriptions by Phoenician subjects of the Ptolemies: a graffito from Wasṭa (near Tyre) with a dedication "to King Ptolemy and Aphrodite Epekoos" (*CIS* I 6; Bonnet 2004) and an inscription from Larnaka tis Lapithou (Northern Cyprus) with a problematic bilingual dedication "to Athena Nike and of King Ptolemy" (*CIS* I 95; Adamasi Guzzo 2015; based on the syntax of the Phoenician version, the genitive in the Greek text can be interpreted as a mistake for a second dative). Neither of these texts can be confidently attributed to Ptolemy I, as has been suggested; a later date is equally possible on both paleographic and historical grounds.

[125] On the crucial role of Adeimantos in the reorganization of the Corinthian League and thus in the interaction between Demetrios and the Greeks, see Robert 1946; Buraselis 2003, 190–191; Wallace 2013; Habicht 2017, 40.

[126] See Carney 2000, 31–32; Wallace 2013, 143–144 (dating the event to the period 307–305 BCE); Caneva 2016a, 143–144. For other cultic honors for Phila, see Kotsidu 2000, 259–261, no. 176 [E], mentioning a *temenos* of the queen in Samos.

[127] On the Arsinoeion and its link with the Ptolemaic maritime power, see Hauben 1970, 42–48, 66–67; Bing 2003; Carney 2013, 98–99; Caneva 2015; 2016a, 146–147. The date of Kallikrates' dedication is unknown, but I am inclined to consider the early 260s as a plausible option: after serving as the first priest of the Theoi Adelphoi in 272/1, Kallikrates promptly adapted to the new scenario entailed by the death of Arsinoe, and to the consequent innovation of the king's religious program, by financing a shrine of the deceased and deified queen. Another Ptolemaic parallel, roughly contemporaneous to that of Kallikrates, is the *hieron* of Arsinoe dedicated in 268/7 by the Athenian general Epichares, near Rhamnous: see *I. Rhamn.* 3, lines 15–16, with the new restoration by Steinhauer 2009.

honors in comparison with Ptolemy's followers. A few concurrent reasons may be proposed to explain this. First, unlike Demetrios, Ptolemy I does not seem to have developed a strategy of legitimation based on the celebration of dynastic women.[128] More in general, it is worth noting that Adeimantos' circle operated in an environment already influenced by the conferral of civic cultic honors to the family of Demetrios. An analysis of later epigraphic dossiers shows that non-institutional practitioners of ruler cults usually did not invent new practices and formulae, but adapted themselves to existing ones, which could be established by cities or, especially in contexts under the influence of centralized dynastic cults, promoted by the monarchs themselves.[129] Coming back to Demetrios' collaborators in late 4th century Attica, we may infer that in a period which did not yet know centralized royal initiatives for ruler cults, the cultic honors promoted by the civic institutions of Athens provided Adeimantos and his followers with a suitable model to promote themselves in front of the king.

Demetrios did not refuse this innovation, yet it seems that he did not cause it either. This episode shows once more that, while not rejecting the biographical portraits of the early Hellenistic dynasts provided by the literary sources, we should reassess in detail the evidence concerning the agency of ruler cults in the early-Hellenistic period and, accordingly, re-balance our judgements about Demetrios' keenness on cultic honors and Ptolemy's restraint towards them. Their strategies cannot be fully understood unless we consider them against the background of the possibilities and social dynamics characterizing the environments in which they acted.

Overview: How "Ptolemaic" was Egypt under Ptolemy I?

When considered from the perspective of Egypt, the reign of Ptolemy I belongs to the transitional period starting at the end of the last indigenous dynasty (the XXXth), passing through the second Persian domination, and ending up with the consolidation of Macedonian power under Ptolemy II and III. During this period, the rapid political changes and the weakness of the central power caused an abrupt stop of the big temple building programs, and a parallel growth of personal euergetism through small-size initiatives of the local priestly elite. The installation of a new foreign power residing in Egypt brought about an increased political stability and an augmentation of the role of the central government, at least partly to the detriment of local elite autonomies.

[128] The first known representation of Berenike I on a royal visual medium is provided by the coins of the Theoi Adelphoi. The representations of Berenike I on earlier coins stem from the initiative of Greek cities, not from royal coinage (Caneva 2016a, 167, n. 130).

[129] For some Ptolemaic case studies under Ptolemy II and III, see Caneva and Bricault 2019. See also Lanciers 2014, 376–380, for Ptolemy V's epiclesis *Eucharistos*. In a Seleucid context, see the dedication made by Ptolemaios son of Thraseas, *strategos* and *archiereus* of Koile Syria and Phoenicia, "to Hermes, Herakles and the Great King Antiochos" (*OGIS* 230). The dedication was made in the gymnasium of Soloi (Pamphylia) in 197 BCE, after the city was taken by Antiochos III at the beginning of his campaign in Asia Minor. By using the title "Great King," the donor followed a use recently introduced by the king himself after the 4th Syrian War (200 BCE; Ma 2002, 73, 275–276).

Indeed, recent research has advanced beyond a long-lasting assumption that the succession of different ethnic groups in power (Egyptian, Persian, Macedonian rulers) would entail a clear-cut sequence of ruptures as regards the social composition of the elites and the policies of the central government. It is now known that many aspects of the Macedonian government in the Argead and early-Ptolemaic periods built more or less directly upon the legacy of the XXXth dynasty, while in other respects the beginning of Macedonian rule was marked by a rupture in the social composition of the Egyptian elite in comparison to the previous transition between the Nektanebids and Persian rule.

If traceable social and cultural changes cannot occur in the timespan of a few years, evidence of the direct impact of Ptolemy's policy from the late 310s BCE might be found, according to Ladynin, in the apparent decentralization of temple programs from Upper Egypt to the Delta, and from major religious centers to provincial sanctuaries. These signs point to a research path which still needs be further tested: the last years of Ptolemy's satrapy would correspond to the conclusion of an early phase of interaction between the Macedonian rulers and the Egyptian temples, which had unfolded under the Argead pharaohs, and could point to the beginning of a new Mediterranean-oriented strategy focusing on the areas of Alexandria and the Delta. In the same period, the Satrap Stele sheds light on a diplomatic laboratory whereby cultural mediators and brokers must have played a fundamental role in selecting and streamlining the ideological motifs which could promote a positive internal collaboration between the Greco-Macedonian and the Egyptian elite, and define common priorities concerning the place Ptolemaic Egypt should have in the new geopolitical scenario of the post-Alexander Mediterranean world.

That the Delta from Memphis to Alexandria constituted the motor of Egypt under Ptolemy I seems confirmed by the role played by this region in the ascension of a cult destined to soon find in the Ptolemies its major promoters: the cult of Sarapis. Once again, however, the long-term cultural and religious processes that crossed the reign of Ptolemy cannot be understood except from a broad perspective. Such a methodological orientation implies that we consider the early ascension of Sarapis against the background of the impact of the Nektanebids' temple programs at Saqqara and of the 4th century dissemination of Osiriac cults from Memphis towards the Delta. When seen from this perspective, the direct agency of Ptolemy I with regard to the affirmation of the Hellenized cult of Sarapis must be reduced in favor of a fundamental indirect responsibility: the transfer of the capital to Alexandria, which replaced the Egyptian setting of Memphis as the political and religious center of the Delta with a newly founded metropolis acting as a dynamic interface between the Egyptian inland and the Greek world, via the Eastern Mediterranean routes.

While the first half of this chapter has focused on long-term processes, on which the contribution of Ptolemy I's policies can only be evaluated on a large chronological scale, the second part has stressed two aspects of the way Ptolemy represented his power at the religious level. In these cases, of course, the personal agency of the

satrap and king of Egypt comes to foreground, and the processes discussed can be analyzed with a narrower chronological focus.

The discussion of the visual propaganda designed by Ptolemy via the numismatic media has shown that he was fully aware of the potential of different communication channels, and ready to use them to disseminate a varied set of messages fitting the expectations of their target public. Ptolemy's currency, which due to the closed monetary system he created would only circulate within the kingdom, was meant to touch on the notes of grandeur, exoticism and divinity of monarchic power as a mark of the continuity between Alexander and Ptolemy. The large impact of this message, not only on the imagery of Ptolemy II's procession but also on the early growth of legends about Alexander's Asian campaign, becomes evident once we pass an arbitrary scholarly separation between written texts and visual media of propaganda. Conversely, Ptolemy's historiographic work designed and spread for the Greek-speaking elites a more purified declination of the same message of continuity, focusing on the legitimating proximity of an honorable and heroic man of arms to the great Argead world conqueror.[130] If everyone among the Successors fashioned his own Alexander, Ptolemy created two, both of which would exert an impact on later traditions, also thanks to his prestige as king and to his chance to reshape the memory of Alexander at an opportune moment.

Ptolemy's capacity to give his public what that public wished to receive, becomes even more evident when we contrast the "discreet" approximation of his royal status to the divine sphere, as it emerges from the numismatic evidence,[131] and the absence of any comparable initiative as regards the promotion of honors establishing the same approximation between divine and human power at the level of ritual performance. A man of his time, Ptolemy did not go beyond the self-evident acceptance of the cultic honors granted to him by the Greek cities, which he had supported during his decade-long war against Antigonos and Demetrios for the control of the Eastern Mediterranean. Generally speaking, however, this did not make Ptolemy an exception in the contemporaneous scenario of the Diadochan period. Conversely, the ascension of Ptolemy II would cause a significant enhancement of the Ptolemaic strategy with regard to cultic honors, as this king proved extremely proactive in establishing centralized cults honoring his family members.

On the other hand, the initiatives taken by Ptolemy II systematically built upon his father's legacy. As shown by the Aegean dossier of the Islanders, the establishment of a pan-Hellenic festival in honor of Ptolemy I was one of the first projects of the new king to promote his legitimacy at the international level. Moreover, the self-deified Theoi Adelphoi attached their cult to the eponymous priesthood of Alexander, which Ptolemy I had established for the Argead founder of Alexandria and which could be

130 So Howe 2015, 2016 and 2018, commentary on F14, F15, F16, F18, F26a, F35 and in this volume.

131 On the category of "discreet deification" in the interpretation of divine attributes on royal coins, see Iossif 2012; 2018.

seen *a posteriori* as the matrix of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult.[132] By granting Alexander an oikist's cult, Ptolemy followed a long tradition of cults of city founders in colonial contexts, while also systematically exploiting the possession of Alexander's body, a paramount source of charismatic legitimacy physically and symbolically rooted in the heart of the capital, in the *Soma* erected within the royal quarter.[133]

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[132] However, this priesthood only acquired a dynastic connotation under Ptolemy IV (Tondriau 1953; Caneva 2016a, 179–180).

[133] Caneva 2016a, 42–47.

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Chapter 6

Ptolemy Son of Lagos and the Egyptian Elite

Gilles Gorre

The nature of the relationship between the Macedonian and the Egyptian elite has been much debated. Since Lloyd's foundational study, the general hypothesis is that Ptolemy immediately established close ties with the Egyptian elite, priests and generals.[1] In his recent book, based on Lloyd's work, Worthington stated that "A study of hieroglyphic evidence from the early Ptolemaic period (down to Ptolemy IV) suggests that the upper echelons of Egyptian society, from which came priests and generals, for example, still exercised influence in the various areas in which they lived, and that experienced Egyptian generals served in the Ptolemaic army."[2] From our point of view, such a hypothesis raises two difficulties. First, as we will see, the inscriptions emanating from the private monuments are far from explicit (see Appendix I). Second, at least in the case of the priesthood, the establishment of close institutional ties with the crown clearly started with the introduction of the dynastic cult under the reigns of Ptolemy II and III and not Ptolemy I, as is well documented in the synodal decrees.[3]

If a close relationship between the priesthood and the political authority characterized the last centuries before the Macedonian conquest, the general trend of integration of the temple into the state apparatus was, momentarily, stopped at the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Indeed, the conquest of Alexander opened up a period of foreign rule in Egypt which differed markedly from the last native dynasties (the XXIXth and XXXth), but also from the Persian occupation which is sought to

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1 See Lloyd 2002.
2 Worthington 2016, 191.
3 See Gorre-Veïsse forthcoming.

replace. Compared to Persian rule[4] the Macedonian authority was characterized by two major differences:

- the Achaemenids preserved the local form of government in Egypt, as in all of their satrapies. Indeed, although some Aramaic administrators and garrisons were imposed on Egypt, the indigenous Egyptian systems and personnel were maintained without major changes. Moreover, due to the universalism of the Achaemenid Empire, the Persian kings were locally known as Pharaoh and not Great King. More precisely, the Great Kings, at least during the first Persian occupation,[5] presented themselves as the successors of the last Egyptian kings[6]; which explains why so many Egyptians served the Persian kings[7] while still claiming their previous allegiance toward the previous rulers.[8] The Macedonians, however, offered a far more complex "double-face." Indeed, as discussed by C. Lorber in this volume, they were able to use the Egyptian traditions that could benefit their own rule; however, it was near impossible to ignore their foreign origin. The first Egyptian sources (e.g. Satrap Stela) relating to Ptolemy son of Lagos underline the Ptolemies' foreign origin; something which was acknowledged until the end of the dynasty, as the stela of the High Priest of Ptah, contemporaneous with Ptolemy XII, clearly shows.[9]
- the local Persian satrap was the representative of the Great King only – he did not rule the country himself. After the death of Alexander, and due to the inability of the Argead successors to reign, Ptolemy served as the official ruler even though he only held the title of satrap until 306 BCE. As a consequence, the Egyptian elites had to deal with not only with a foreign ruler but also a resident foreign ruler who was not recognized as Pharaoh of Egypt. An additional challenge was that Ptolemy's power was not fully defined until he took the title of King (*basileus)*; therefore, for almost twenty years, nobody in Egypt knew exactly how to address the new leader of the country.

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[4] At least during the first Persian occupation; very few sources are known for the second Persian occupation. However, some evidence points to a violent conquest – notably the sacking of Sebennytos, the capital of the XXXth dynasty: see Chauveau 2016. According to Ladynin 2005, 103–112, the Satrap Stela indicates that Artaxerxes III seized the revenues of the Buto temple and thus forced a stoppage of the divine cult. He further argues from the inscriptions in Petosiris' tomb that the Persians may have imposed such harsh penalties on all the temples of Egypt, in order to deprive a conquered people of the protection of their gods. If Ladynin is right, the second Persian occupation would have been extremely traumatic for the Egyptian elite and the anti-Persian elements of Ptolemy's ideology would make eminent sense (I thank C. Lorber for drawing my attention to this point). For the Satrap Stela and a discussion Ladynin's argument, see the chapters of Caneva and Howe in this volume.

[5] See Devauchelle 1995. However, despite the differences of context (Gorre 2009a, no 42) some Egyptians, contemporaneous with the second occupation, claimed the same kind of relationship with the Great King as Egyptians contemporaneous with the first occupation.

[6] See Briant 1996, 69, for "la volonté avérée de Cambyse de se poser en successeur des pharaons légitimes."

[7] See Huß 1997, 131–143.

[8] Such behavior is usual, see Gorre 2009a, no 39, no 42 and, for the first Persian occupation, Posener 1936, 165, text 1 b, 7–9 and 1 F, 46.

[9] See the stela B. M. 886, l. 9 in which Alexandria is called the city of "the Greek (Haou-nebou) kings."

Unlike the quick and regular collaboration that Lloyd and Worthington suggest, there were many and significant barriers to Egyptian and Macedonian interaction that took some time for Ptolemy I to overcome.

Therefore, to understand the unprecendented situation caused by the establishment of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, in the first part of this paper I will rexamine the hieroglyphic documents and propose a typology according to two criteria: their accurate dating – meaning were they contemporaneous with the beginning of the Macedonian period – and their accurate reading – meaning what degree of proximity to the Macedonian authority do they indicate. In the second part, I will examine the more problematic elements of Lloyd and Worthington's interpretations of Egyptian-Ptolemaic interactions during the early Macedonian period. In the third part, I will discuss why close and regulated relationships between the Macedonian power and the Egyptian started mostly *after* Ptolemy I.

The earliest private inscriptions from the Macedonian period

If one examines the inscriptions of the Egyptian elite, almost all of whom had priestly titles even if they served in the military, one can propose a typology according to their close relationship to the Macedonian authority. A survey of theses inscriptions is offered in Appendix I, below.

The decline of the old elite

The arrival of the Persians, then later the Macedonians, does not seem to have had the same consequences for the elites who held power in the XXXth dynasty. Indeed for some, the second Persian occupation was an opportunity to increase their power. This was certainly the case of the Hermopolite Petosiris, who became responsible for the local cult[10] and the divine estate as administrator (with the title of *lesonis*). Petosiris came from an important family, whose members had been appointed, under the XXXth dynasty, as heads of the temples of Hermopolis, thanks to their powerful connections. They were also part of the clergy of Sekhmet who, because of their skill, found themselves in positions of trust not always directly related to their titles.[11] The installation of this family by a royal order is concomitant with the construction work being undertaken in the temple, which could indicate a link of cause and effect between the appointment of a preist close to the power and policy of the Nektanebids.[12]

In contrast, the relations between Petosiris and the first Macedonian sovereigns are unclear. The inscriptions on his tomb, which are otherwise explicit and precise on the subject of the work he carried out under the Persians,[13] do not confirm that he

[10] Gorre 2009a, no 39, n. b.
[11] See von Känel 1984, 238.
[12] See Menu 1994, 327.
[13] Gorre 2009a, 39, n. d.

organized the decoration of the temple portico in the name of Philip Arrhidaeus, or the construction of the Baboon Catacomb on behalf of Ptolemy I. In general, Petosiris is very elusive on his relations with the sovereign during this time. There is nothing to indicate that "war wohl der Erste, der hier den neuen königlichen Kultregeln Rechnung trug"[14] or that the importance of the construction at Hermopolis, at the end of the IVth century, can be explained by royal financial aid generated by "besonders betonte Bereitschaft zur Zusammenarbeit mit den griechischen Eroberern."[15] Therefore, the hypothesis of a Ptolemaic royal grant remains to be proved: Petosiris makes no mention of any external financing for his achievements. On the other hand, he does suggest that he raised funds on the equity of his house,[16] which suggests that Petosiris did not have the responsibility for the construction work undertaken after the departure of the Persians: is it the sign of him being set aside upon the arrival of Ptolemy? The same question arises for the family of the High Priests of Amun at Thebes, who were only loosely involved in the work undertaken on behalf of the Argeads.[17]

The case of Teos the Savior of Athribis could contradict the hypothesis of the Macedonian removal of the Egyptian staff that had served under the Persians; however, this example is unusual. Firstly, unlike Petosiris, he cannot be seen as deriving from the elite of the XXXth dynasty. Secondly, the association of the names Teos and Arrhidaeus cannot be explained by the proximity of the Egyptian to the new Macedonian power. In effect, according to the extent of his achievements, he had already been responsible for the gods' property for some time; his position was therefore confirmed, if not granted, by the representative of the Great King. And the affirmation of his fidelity to the Argeads could be intended to make the new rulers forget his closeness with the Persian authorities. In addition, it seems that Teos himself was already dead at the time of the second statue's erection, for the statue was erected by a third party. These inscriptions are not intended to glorify Teos himself, to justify his work or, from the point of view of his contemporaries, legitimize his inheritance, but to bind the memory and the action of Teo to the Argeads and constitute a guarantee for his heirs. For the latter, this meant manifesting their acceptance of the new authority and participating in the propaganda[18] of the Macedonians, by finding a way to be useful to the new power.

The final evidence of dignitaries in the XXXth dynasty in positions under the Persians not returning to these positions under the Macedonians,[19] is inscribed in a wholly religious context: there is no mention of the pharaoh,[20] except in an *ad hoc* manner to clarify circumstances of events.[21] There are no cases where the sovereign

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14 See Kessler 1998, 130.
15 See Derchain 1961, 8–10.
16 Gorre 2009a, no 39, n. c.
17 See Gorre 2009, 504–506.
18 On this notion of Ptolemaic "propaganda," see Thiers 2004, 25.
19 See the case of Nektanebis, the anonymous elder son of Nektanebo II, Samtoutephnachtes and Petosiris: Gorre 2009a, no 79, 74, 42, 39.
20 Gorre 2009a, no 41 n. a.
21 Gorre 2009a, no 42 n. c.

appears as having influence over an individual's destiny; at best, he is part of the scenery in which the character evolves. On the other hand, the divinity is explicitly invoked. This replacement of the king by the local deity is characteristic during periods of political upheaval: the elite, who can no longer refer to the sovereign, place themselves entirely under the aegis of the divinity to which they attribute the responsibility for all the great events of their life. For example, it is only by the grace of the god Thoth that Petosiris is appointed *lesonis*,[22] rather than through a royal order like his father.

This attachment to the divine sovereignty, which replaced the royal sovereignty due to the unique circumstances following Ptolemy's occupation of Egypt, is accompanied by the acknowledgement, at least in theory, of obligations to the pharaoh.[23] This phenomenon, in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest, is not a sign of weakness within Macedonian rule, but simply that no ritually crowned pharaoh had lived in the country since the Nektanebids. From an Egyptian point of view, there is a crisis in the pharaonic institution, but paradoxically it has no influence on the practical exercise of power which is in the hands of the Greeks.[24]

The rise of homines novi?

Accurately dated documents attesting to real relations with the Macedonian authority are, in the end, very few; however, those that survive do raise the question of the actual links between the subject and the new Macedonian power. While, the inscriptions are vague they all do stress the importance of royal counsellors, echoing the Satrap Stela (see below) which makes specific mention of the Egyptian advisors involved in religious affairs. If we can draw a conclusion from the low number of examples, it would be that Ptolemy wished to rely on the support of "intermediate elites." This hypothesis is supported by the erasure of the old elites at the beginning of the Macedonian period, and the identity of the men selected by the crown to introduce the dynastic cult in the temples from the time of Ptolemy II.[25] Unfortunately, the old elites identified by Lloyd, who closely allied with Ptolemy I, cannot be dated with any reasonable certainty.

Questions raised by Lloyd's hypothesis

Following Lloyd, it is useful to examine the advisors for religious matters, the advisors for general matters, and the military officers in order to determine the ways in which Ptolemy I employed members of the Egyptian elite.

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[22] Gorre 2009a, no 39 n. d.

[23] According to Rössler-Kölher 1991, 23–26, two types of behavior can be distinguished: "Abkehr vom irdischen Königtum zugunsten rein göttlicher Königs-Verantwortung" and "Abkehr vom Königtum zugunsten menschlicher Verantwortung anstelle vom König."

[24] Contrary to the Third Intermediary Period, after the collapse of the New Kingdom at the beginning of the fist millennium BCE, there was a crisis in the identity of the central authority rather than in its purpose, see van Wlasen 1992, 643–649.

[25] See Gorre 2009, 579.

Religious advisors

Alexander the Great's precedent

Some evidence suggests that Alexander wanted to be heir to the Great Kings and a universal monarchy, for example, his consultation in the spring of 331 BCE of the Zeus-Ammon oracle in the Siwah Oasis.[26] In Babylonia, where the documentation on the relations between the conqueror and the local elites is even more important than in Egypt,[27] Briant notes "the reality of the 'Babylonization' of Alexander seems generally to be well established…."[28] Indeed, even before entering Babylon, Alexander discussed with the city's religious leaders not only how to assure the respect of both personal belongings (prohibiting Greek soldiers from entering the houses) and the city's cults, but also how to manage (and manipulate) the cultural impacts of his triumphal entry. As a consequence, Alexander subsequently complied with the local religious customs, adopted the local gods and undertook work in the sanctuaries. However, the installation of Seleucus in Babylonia created a whole new context. A text, the *Dynastic Prophecy*, reports the final victory of Darius, assisted by the gods of Babylon, over the Macedonian troops: "it expresses the change in relationship between Macedonians and Babylonians in the time of the wars that ravaged the country at the beginning of the age of the Diadochi."[29]

Such a development could also have occurred in Egypt. After the brief passage of Alexander, who was probably willing to reconcile the native elites to his side, and the nominal reign of the Argeads, the taking of the title of *basileus* by Ptolemy opened up a new period of exclusive Greek-Macedonian power.[30] This situation was reflected in the work undertaken in the temples of Amun at Thebes, where there is a clear break between the architectural policy undertaken on behalf of the Argeads and the Ptolemies – after an intensive architectural activity in the name of Philip Arrhideus, no works are known in the temples before Ptolemy III. At the end of the 4th century, the work, carried out by Chapochrates, testifies to a clear willingness to register the Argeads in the great pharaonic tradition by entering their names in the heart of the sanctuary in close proximity to one of the greatest Egyptian conquerors, Tuthmosis III of the XVIIIth dynasty, who predated Alexander by more than a thousand years and whose main claim to fame is that he reached the Euphrates. In addition, there is also a clear religious message: the representation of Philip Arrhidaeus being suckled by the goddess Amonet,[31] showing that the Argeads were considered as being of divine nature – for Amonet, breast milk is like blood and thus serves as the vector of divinity.

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[26] For the role of Siwah see Howe 2013. See the chapters by Heckel and Anson in this volume for a discussion of Ptolemy's territorial ambitions.

[27] For example, scholars do not agree on the pharaonic coronation of Alexander: its reality is denied by Burstein 1991, 139–145; considered as possible by Thompson 1988, 106; and accepted by Huß 1994, 52; 2001, 58, 215.

[28] Briant 1996, 881; 2002, 863, tr. Daniels.

[29] Briant 1996, 883; 2002, 863, tr. Daniels.

[30] After Antigonos claimed to be the successor of Alexander, Ptolemy was acclaimed king by his soldiers in the second part of 306 BCE (Plut. Dem. 18.2; App. Syr. 54.276; Just. 15.2.11).

[31] Legrain 1913.

The scope of both religious and historical symbolism must have been explained to the representative of the new king by the priests, as it was only they who had access to the heart of the shrine where the work was conducted. Ptolemy Satrap benefited at least once from such advice, as is shown in one of the most emblematic documents from the beginning of the Hellenistic period – the Satrap Stela.

The Satrap Stela: A circumstantial document

Unlike the two different periods of Persian domination, few private sources attest to the Egyptians' collaboration with the new authorities at the beginning of the Macedonia era. Priests at the service of the Macedonians are, however, mentioned clearly in one source: the Satrap Stela (*CGC* 22182) which states "que le nouveau pouvoir avait été très tôt soucieux de s'informer de la condition du pays et savait prendre conseil"[32] with members of the local clergy, as evidenced by the mention of an Egyptian counsellor. This person, whom the king addresses as an intermediary, would have been one of the counsellors for local affairs. His case can be likened to that of anonymous preist of Memphis (see below), who is probably his contemporary. These two examples raise the question of the existence of a bilingual priestly staff whose existence dates back to the 5th century, at least according to several elements of Herodotus' testimony.[33]

The Satrap Stela is a double title, indicative of the policy of Ptolemy vis-à-vis the priestly class. On the one hand, it certifies the willingness of the new power to charm his indigenous subjects. On the other hand, it testifies to the practical implementation and the political consequences of this charm offensive: Ptolemy must be surrounded of Egyptians, even if it is only to prepare this document:

> It is obvious that such a text, pure propaganda, was inspired directly by the court of the satrap. Although its style, its composition, the predictions that do not happen and the themes it evokes betray an author of Egyptian culture, they are applied faithfully to convey to the indigenous population the satrap's policy and the image that he wants to give himself. [34]

But, unlike the decrees of later synods, the measures referred to in this text have only a local scope. The favor of the satrap toward the temple of Buto could therefore be explained by a desire to reconcile the goodwill of the local temple's priesthood, and not in the establishment of a general policy for the whole country. As highlighted by Worthington, this document demonstrates above all the pragmatism of Ptolemy I[35] even if religious motivations could not be excluded.

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[32] See Derchain 2000, 19. According to this councillor he was "Egyptien bilingue dans l'entourage immédiat du roi."

[33] See Obsomer 1989, 65–80 and 1998, 1431–1432; Derchain 2001, 198–199.

[34] "Il est évident qu'un tel texte, de pure propagande, a été directement inspiré par la cour du satrape. Cependant, son style, sa composition, les modèles dont il procède et les thèmes qu'il évoque trahissent un auteur de culture égyptienne mais appliqué à transposer fidèlement l'image que le satrape veut donner de lui-même et de sa politique à la population indigène" (Chauveau 1997, 50).

[35] According to Chauveau 1999, 2, the Satrap Stela is a "manifeste émanant de la cour même du satrape

Faced with the pragmatism and politics of Ptolemy I, those responsible for the sanctuaries, in the aftermath of the Persians' fall, on a case by case basis, find themselves in an increasingly difficult situation. Most were probably confirmed in their posts by the representative of the Great King, or were appointed during the second Persian occupation.[36] Their power, due to the Macedonian conquest, is now undermined; therefore, to defend their legitimacy they need to underscore their links with the XXXth dynasty. However, these men, who must maintain their sanctuaries in good standing, cannot fully return to the past – to face reality, they must adapt to the current political situation, and, in the interests of their sanctuaries, push to create contacts with the new masters of the country. The potential benefits of these relationships are clearly stated in the Satrap Stela, and they must have hoped that their sanctuaries could enjoy the same favors as that of Buto.

With regard to the Satrap Stela, private sources from the beginning of the Macedonian period are rarely explicit on the exact relationship of the dedicants with the crown or its representative, Ptolemy.[37] How then should we interpret the particulars of the new authority's biographical entries: is it a sign of the dedicant's loyalty and proof of his contacts with the power that increases his authority in the temple?

The dilemma of the Egyptian priesthood toward the Macedonian power

At the start of the Greek period, the actions of the first Macedonians to the gods are described differently in the private and official sources. If, in the inscription of the Satrap Stela the Macedonian power appears as the benefactor of the sanctuaries and that the priesthood expresses its gratitude, in contrast, in the private sources the local priest took all the credit regarding the maintenance of places of worship. These private benefactors of the temples do, however, display on their own monuments the Macedonian sovereign facing god and devoting offerings[38]. However, in the inscriptions, the latter is not directly involved in the restoration of the sanctuaries, with the notable exception of the case of the renewal of the sanctuary of Karnak undertaken in the name of Philip Arrhideus by Chapochrates. No text describes a Macedonian chasing the occupants of the sanctuaries to purify it following the image of Darius I, after the inscriptions of his doctor Udjahorresnet.[39] At the beginning of the Macedonian period, priests are presented as actors of the renovations and, more generally, of meeting the needs of the gods and their temples, as if the new authority

Ptolémée (...) [qui], transposant dans la phraséologie royale pharaonique un message politique circonstancié, a dû être inspiré par les conseillers égyptiens (...)."

[36] See the case of Petorisis of Hermopolis, Gorre 2009a, no 39, n. a.

[37] However, there are few major sources; see, in the appendix 1.3, the case of Chapochrates in Thebes and of an anonymous priest of Memphis.

[38] This is the case with the little shrine built by Horos at Tentyris, Gorre 2009a, no 28.

[39] See Posener 1936, 15: "Sa Majesté ordonna de chasser tous les étrangers; S. M. ordonna de purifier le temple de Neith (...)"; "S. M. se rendit en personne au temple de Neith. Elle se prosterna (...) Elle fit une offrande" p. 17; "S. M. fit toute œuvre utile dans le temple de Neith," p. 18.

is not sufficient. This attitude is found among people of highly diverse functions, including those who are called to exercise responsibility with the power, like the anonymous priest of Memphis.

In the absence of a pharaoh, some priests provided sovereign functions and usurped royal symbols. At Hermopolis, Petosiris conducted work in the shrines in his own name and assumes the phrase "life, health, strength."[40] These exploits had, without doubt, no political significance. In effect, the Macedonian power had references other [than those of pharaonic Egypt], foreign to the Egyptian tradition. The Ptolemaic temple's discourse has become a strictly religious discourse, it regulates only the imaginary, the politics are done elsewhere.[41]

In addition, recognizing the new power was a necessity for the priests who had responsibilities within the sanctuaries, even if the one who was actually the authority was not the pharaoh and the nominal sovereign was out of Egypt. Regardless of the situation at the top, the priests had to perform the rites in the temples in the name of the *de facto* ruler, and it is the dependent administration that they deal with in their direction of divine temporality; the priests had to ensure the maintenance of the cult, the future of the divine heritage and, more prosaically, their positions.

This question can perhaps be asked for Teos the Savior who, at Athribis, takes care of the temples. He restored the buildings, chased the military out of the sanctuary, and ensured the establishment of the perennial refuelling of the offering table; however, the nature of Teos' authority is not clear. Officially, he is neither responsible for the property of the gods as *lesonis*, nor that of the cult as preist. Can his figure and his actions be explained by a particular link to the power which is demonstrated in the cartouches of Philip Arrhidaeus? Such a hypothesis is weakened by the absence of the Macedonian authority in Teos' biography: Philip Arrhidaeus, or at least Ptolemy his representative, never appears as the sanctuary's benefactor, as being devoted to the local god, or as protecting the temple, in particular against the soldiers. In reality, it is not even necessary to involve the crown to explain the means implemented by Teos: in addition to the fact that some of the reported events may be prior to the installation of the Macedonians. The construction work, the relocation of the soldiers, and the expansion of the divine domain were carried out due to the sole funds of the temple (according to the inscription, it was Teos' own money). If the Macedonian power had materially contributed to these achievements, it is likely that Teos would not have failed to mention it in order to emphasize the effectiveness of his intercession with "His Majesty."

How then can we interpret the cartouches of Philip Arrhidaeus on the second statue of Teos? It is possible that, in order to safeguard the interests of his temple, Teos took the initiative to develop relationships with the satrap's entourage. Being

[40] Gorre 2009a, no 39, n. d.

[41] "... avait d'autres références [than those of pharaonic Egypt], étrangères à la tradition égyptienne. Le discours du temple ptolémaïque est devenu un discours strictement religieux, il ne réglemente plus que l'imaginaire, la politique se faisant ailleurs" (Derchain 1997, 232). Moreover, this author underlined that, after the Macedonian conquest, the temples were no longer the political seats of power: "après la conquête d'Alexandre, ils (the temples) basculèrent de plus en plus, sans que leurs desservants en soient nécessairement conscients, dans l'ordre du religieux."

responsible for the property of the gods, it is reasonable to assume that he would be one of the first to be confronted with the new forces that controlled the country.[42] This type of responsibility must have induced contact with the representatives of the new power, even if it does not appear directly in the text. It is this intermediary function with the new leaders that, in addition to his personal qualities of a good administrator and diplomat, may explain the leading role he played in the Athribite sanctuary; however, Teos' contacts with the new authority do not seem to have been accompanied by any direct benefits.[43]

The case of Teos the Savior, although unusual, is not unique. At Tentyris and Bahariya there were comparable priestly figures that were anxious to place their works in the temples under the aegis of the country's new masters. However, nothing indicates that their relation with the authority was followed up, or even effective. The altar erected at Bahariya does, however, certify, at a minimum, a cult rendered to Alexander. Although they undertook their work independently, these priests also wished to highlight the role of the sovereign in the temples. As with Teos the Savior who associates Philip Arrhidaeus with the magic of his healer statue, a statue of a certain Horos of Tentyris is erected in the chapel forecourt of the goddess Hathor whose decorations and inscriptions that tell of Horus' achievements and feature a traditional depection of Ptolemy I as pharaoh. These two cases are examples of a voluntary and unilateral approach by the clergy to the crown. Therefore, even if the sovereign is not the originator of the works, the latter are all made in his name since he is the sole intermediary between the gods and men. This attitude shows that the recognition of the new power is a religious need, even if the sovereign has not actually been crowned pharaoh.

The example in the high chapel of the statue of Horos at Tentyris leads us to wonder about the meaning of the first Lagid cartouches in the Egyptian temples: are they the reflection of royal policy in the temples or a sign of individuals placing their works under the patronage of the pharaohs? The constructions in the temples on behalf of Ptolemy I are characterized by small-scale works, distributed across a large number of sites throughout the entire Egyptian territory. Can we, therefore, extend the example of Horos of Tentyris to other renovations made in the name of the sovereign? Potentially, the work was not due to any royal will, but on the initiative of priests, administrators of the temples, or simply individuals who decided to save the shrines from total collapse. A certain number of cartouches belonging to the first Macedonian sovereigns could then be solely attributed to private restorations rather than royal policy in favor of the sanctuaries; however, such an assumption is only compatible with the repairs and construction at a small or medium scale. For the important work, such as that undertaken for Amun at Thebes,[44] it is likely that this was due to royal intervention, at least financially.

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[42] Notably, he had to negotiate with the troops settled inside the temenos to move them outside of the sacred space. On this question of a military presence inside the sacred space, see Thiers 2006.

[43] Gorre 2009a, no 70, n. d and e.

[44] This is probably also true for the building work in the temple of Amon in Naucratis, see Yoyotte 1994, 689;

The figures of Teos of Athribis and Horos of Tentyris do not, therefore, reflect the establishment of close contacts between the leaders of the temples and the new authority; although Teos might constitute a particular case. Indeed, although their responsibilities probably derive from the XXXth dynasty, they have managed to maintain their positions under the Macedonians. However, the arrival of the Macedonians appears to be accompanied by an erosion of the elite positions. While the Persian dominations were, for some of the Egyptian priests, a continuity of the previous powers, their presence as advisors to the king, for business rather than religious matters, is questionable.

Advisors on general matters

The Egyptian entourage for the Persians and the Macedonians differed. The court clerics of the last Egyptian pharaohs, and those who had access to the entourage of the Great Kings, exerted a specific service at the court and in the entourage of the sovereign; however, the first priests in the service of the Macedonians had a rather informal place at court and no curial title to justify their service with the leader of the country, whether that be satrap or pharaoh. This precarious position was accompanied by a visibly reduced proximity and influence. The Egyptians in the personal service of the XXXth dynasty pharaohs or the Great Kings can also be distinguished from the staff of the Ptolemaic period by their origins: they are most often derived from eminent families and often occupied important positions even before their elevation by the sovereign.

The examples from the Ptolemaic period constitute very different cases. First of all, they are not known immediately post-conquest. The creation of a royal Egyptian entourage seems to have started quite late among the Macedonian conquerors and constitutes only an epiphenomenon: at the court of the first Lagids, the Greco-Macedonians dominated while the Egyptians appeared late and sporadically.[45] In addition, they are not from the most senior ranks of the clergy. The only exception could be Manetho, who, in a letter[46] allegedly addressed to Ptolemy Adelphos, describes himself as "high-priest (*archiereus*) and scribe (*grammateus*)."[47] However, the apocryphal character of the document does not confirm that Manetho acceded to the rank of preist[48] and, in general, obscures the role that he played with the first Lagids.[49]

1995, 680–682.

[45] Contra Worthington 2016, 189, who argues that Ptolemy's counsellors were never Egyptians.

[46] Ps-Manethon, Syncellus, 72.

[47] Waddell, 1939, X, 208.

[48] On the contrary, for Waddel, 1939, XI-XII, "it is reasonable to believe that Manetho rose to be high-priest in the temple at Heliopolis. This eminent position agrees with the important part he played in the introduction of the cult of Serapis."

[49] According to Yoyotte 1997, 31, Manetho was "un historien local dont les Aegyptiaca ne furent exhumés que plus tard par les gens de lettres alexandrins." Contra Dillery 1999 and 2003.

The association of the Egyptian elite in the affairs of the Ptolemaic state remains limited. The Macedonians only used the Egyptians when they offered skills that they could not find in their own Greek entourage. The passage of Egyptians into the service of the crown emphasizes the interest of the sovereign in the country's practices only when they contributed to strengthening their power. The most obvious case of which is the figure of Manetho: because of his religious skills, this priest would have contributed to the making of Serapis as a Ptolemaic dynastic god,[50] and one of the goals of the *Aegyptiaca* was to include the religious policy of the Ptolemys in the continuity of their pharaonic era predecessors.[51]

The case of the anonymous priest of Memphis could be indicative of the state of mind of any priest: when he is summoned to the palace to advise the new master of the country, it is under the aegis of his god that he will be placed.[52] It is likely that this lack of recognition toward the Macedonians goes unnoticed, or was regarded as negligible, since it is tolerated even among the collaborators of the new power.

This Memphite engages Greek sovereign by means of the title of ***ḥq3***, "the one who leads, directs" as indicated by the hieroglyphic sign of the shepherd's crook. This appellation, known by several variants depending on the additions that follow, indicates only the recognition of an administrative authority and serves to designate the person who exercises sovereignty over the land, the pharaoh or not. More generally, the texts are rather terse on the dedicant's relations with the new authority.[53] Also, the anonymous priest of Memphis is elusive on his real role with the Greeks. His attitude may be explained by the political situation – Ptolemy is only satrap and not yet pharaoh.[54] If "X" makes an issue of his activities at the palace, he cannot be designated as advisor to the pharaoh since Ptolemy, even for the Macedonians, is still not king: he had to wait for the creation of the *Ptolemaiou Basileôs*; a title that does not mean that the Lagid has then been crowned as Egyptian. The start of the Macedonian era is distinguished by the period when "the king was in the palace"; the Argeads did not live in Egypt, as was already the case during the Persian domination. But the parents and successors of Alexander played only a nominal role in Egypt compared to the Great Kings. This could explain the difficulty encountered by the priesthood to represent the Macedonian authority, be it local with Ptolemy Satrap, or the heir to the empire of Alexander (Philip Arrhidaeus), in a Pharaonic way; for Arrhidaeus Teos the Savior at Athribis did not even complete a Pharaonic title.[55]

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50 However, Sarapis is not not known as a dynastic god before Ptolemy III. For the connection between Serapis and the preexistant Memphite cults, see Devauchelle 2010, 2012. For further discussion of the Serapis cult see Caneva's chapter in this volume.

51 Bingen 1988, 50; Mendels 1998, 144 and 152–3.

52 Gorre 2009a, 43.

53 This is particularly striking when the inscriptions are very explicit about the relationships with the last Egyptian dynasty or the Persian Great Kings.

54 Following the interpretation that Derchain proposed for the title given to the satrap: Gorre 2009a, no 43, n. b.

55 According to Petosiris' own words.

Military officers

The presence of high-ranking Egyptian officers with Ptolemy raises the question of the integration of Egyptians into the Lagid army. For example, general Nektanebis, from an old royal family, was only able to integrate into the highest level of the Lagid army due to the importance of his family ancestry and his distinguished military titles. However, the reality of Egyptians integrating into the highest Lagid military hierarchy is far from being proven. It is difficult to know if the enlistment in 312 BCE, for the Battle of Gaza," a crowd of Egyptians, for the transport of traits and other supplies, others armed and able to fight,"[56] according to the words of Diodorus, is accurate since, under Ptolemy II, the only mention of indigenous soldiers concerns a marine infantry who accompanied, in 266 BCE, the strategist Patroklos of Greece. Indeed, there are few descriptions of the Lagid troops in the Greco-Roman sources,[57] and only a small number of private inscriptions mention military service.

The nature of the Egyptian troops and the duties of Egyptian officers

Postulating that Egyptian officers integrated into the Lagid military command highlights the question of the nature of the troops that they were entrusted with. There must be a link, as Worthington noted, between rank of the troops and rank of the officers. And yet, these troops were light infantry.[58] At best they were ancillary troops whose command was certainly entrusted to Egyptian officers, but the latter did not occupy a subordinate position, in the military hierarchy, precisely because of the nature of the troops they controlled. As leaders of the ancillary troops, these officers were under the orders of a Greek commander and were therefore not part of the army high command of the Ptolemaic army; this integration of Egyptians, therefore, appears to have been merely relative.[59] It can be assumed that there was a link between the dignity of the function and the dignity of the person, a principle which was at the heart of the Lagid military unit, which was developed in the course of the 2nd century, and which was familiar to the Egyptians. Thus, since the presence of an Egyptian force in the Lagid army is certain and the nature of these forces, a light infantry, is well known, then the identity of the officers placed at their head will surely have been of lower status than Worthington supposes.

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[56] Rodriguez 2004.

[57] For the 4th and 3rd centuries the components of the Ptolemaic army are described just three times: for the Battle of Gaza in 312 BCE (Diod. 19.80–5; Plut. Vit. Demtr. 5; Just. Epit. 15.1); for the war of Chremonidos in 266 BCE (Paus. 3.6.5); and for the battle of Raphia in 217 BCE (Polyb. 5.84; Diod. 19.80–4); each time, Egyptians troops appear as a component of the army but there is no mention of Egyptian officers.

[58] Worthington 2016, 191.

[59] There is a contradiction between the idea of the integration of Egyptian officers, stated on p. 190 by Worthington, and the nature of these troops described one page later.

Were there some Nektanebids in the service of Ptolemy?

If we follow Worthington (2016) and assume that experienced Egyptian generals were in the service of Ptolemy,[60] this raises a simple question: who are they? Unfortunately, we can find little evidence for such a group. In effect, there had been no Egyptian army since the defeat of the Nektanebids in 343 BCE. Therefore, at the Battle of Gaza in 312 BCE, any Egyptian officers would have come from an army that had been inactive for almost thirty years. Although we cannot presuppose that they were experienced, in contrast, we can assume that, if they existed, they were of an advanced age. In addition, Worthington's hypothesis raises another question: what value did these Egyptian officers have in the eyes of the Greeks who served in the armies of Alexander? Firstly, the Egyptians are the defeated who could not prevent the conquest of their own country by the Persians. Secondly, there is a question on the military value that the Greeks attributed to Egyptians – since the Saite period, the Greeks and *not* Egyptians, had played a central role in the Egyptian army.[61] Under the Nektanebids this role was strengthened – Nektanebo II had full confidence in Mentor of Rhodes, before he turned his coat and fought for Artaxerxes.[62]

Thus, Worthington's extrapolation from the particular case of General Nektanebis raises the question of a systematic integration of members (or supporters) of the Nektanebid family in the Ptolemaic army.[63] Again there is the question of what sort of prestige could attach to members of a royal family defeated by the Persians. Certainly, later Ptolemies sought connections with the Nektanebids, but not before the establishment of their dynastic cult under the reign of Ptolemy II, in order to legitimize their right to the throne of Egypt.[64] In the aftermath of the Macedonian conquest of Egypt, it appears unlikely that the Macedonians sought an association with supporters of the former Egyptian dynasty. Unlike Alexander's interest in Achaemenids while conquering Persia, the situation of Ptolemy in 4th century Egypt was quite different. While Ptolemy's legitimacy at the head of the country was not completely ensured, he initially put value on his connections with Alexander and not the members of the defeated Egyptian royal family. Finally, when the Macedonians built alliances with a prominent local families, they married the women but did not promote the male member of the family. Thus, only Seleukos, of all the great generals of Alexander, kept his Iranian wife Apama because she, through her Achaemenid origins, helped Seleukos consolidate his power in the heart of the Iranian Empire.[65] Ptolemy did not seek such an alliance with the Nektanebids, but whether this was by

[60] See in Appendix I the case of Nektanebis and Teos-the-Lion.
[61] Agut 2012.
[62] Diod. 16.47.4 and 16.52.1.
[63] Fischer-Bovet 2014, 314, is more in favor of the integration of Nektanebis into the Ptolemaic army, see also Fischer-Bovet 2016, 1669–1674.
[64] Gorre 2009b.
[65] Engels, Erickson 2016.

lack of opportunity or lack of will is unknown.[66] In the end, Nektanebis seems to stand out as a curiosity rather than a trend. There seems little evidence for high-ranking Egyptian officers in Ptolemy's army.

Old and new: The Pharaonic and Nektanebid precursors of Ptolemaic policy

Now that we have set aside Lloyd and Worthington's hypothesis that Egyptian military officers formed the core of Ptolemy's Egyptian relationships, this final section examines how the Ptolemies could have drawn on Egyptian religious traditions to build networks that ensured their authority over Egypt and how, to this end, they followed the practice of the last Egyptian dynasty, the Nektanebids (380–343 BCE). Rather than referring to "traditions," the concept of "invented traditions," defined by Hobsbawm, would be more accurate in this context. [67] As pointed out by Howe, the satrap Ptolemy may be suspected of twisting the facts in order to promote the idea of Alexander's living divinity using the story of Alexander's expedition to Siwah.[68] Prior to the Ptolemies, the Nektanebids selected Egyptian traditions which legitimized their rule[69] and created new cultic practices as their own dynastic cult that were shaped on pharaonic traditions.[70] The Ptolemaic attitude towards Egyptian religious traditions can be understood by the way the satrap Ptolemy forged the divinity of Alexander as well as by the choices selected amongst pharaonic traditions by the Nektanebids to legitimize their own dynasty.

This third part is relevant to a dual historiography: the cultural approach, with the notion of invented traditions, is not incompatible with questions of power relationships. In the 1970s and 1980s, the historiography of the relations between Egyptian temples and the Ptolemies was dominated by colonial and post-colonial studies that focused on the conflict between rulers and ruled populations.[71] By contrast, in recent years studies have tended to address these relations in cultural terms, with the emergence of a third culture between Greek and Egyptian cultures, implying that there was no hierarchy in affiliation to the temples and the crown and downplaying the notion of power relations.[72] In my view, this shift of emphasis may

66 See the chapter by Ager in this volume.
67 See Hobsbawm 1983, 1–14.
68 See Howe 2013, 57–70.
69 Ladynin 2014, 235–236, notes that the temple building of the XXIXth and XXXth Dynasties "originally highlighted the figure of the king and reinforced his sacrality. This must have been the major reason for dynasty XXXth to start its Theban building program and for the Argeadai to resume it."
70 Zivie-Coche 2004, 315, notes that "la XXXème dynastie apparaît effectivement à bien des égards et en beaucoup d'autres points d'Egypte comme une période de changements et d'innovations religieuses qui trouveront leur floruit à l'époque ptolémaïque."
71 For review and comments of the historiography, see Moyer 2011a, 11–34.
72 See Moyer 2011b, 116 n. 7. The author argues that the synodal decrees of the Ptolemaic Period show that the Egyptian priests were "representing themselves – perhaps even imagining themselves – as a political body" (Moyer 2011b, 121) and could therefore negotiate with the crown as a partner: "there is a striking parallel in

have gone too far. While it is undeniable that a shared culture appeared, this outcome did not necessarily result from mutual agreement between the two sides. I do not believe that it is possible to reconstitute an historical process solely by the analysis of the expression of its final result. In other words, consequences are not causes. Here I argue that to understand the relations between temples and the Ptolemies, the concept of asymmetric power relations is still relevant. This asymmetry results from the unique status of the king in Egypt: in theory at least, the pharaoh was the only intercessor between humans and the gods. According to this traditional pattern of thought, the temple priests were merely the local deputies of the kings and therefore required to acknowledge royal authority.[73] This aspect of the royal ideology had been reasserted in late dynastic times, just before the Macedonian conquest, and resulted in the increased control of the temples' economic assets by the last pharaohs.[74] As pharaohs, the Ptolemies subsequently upheld this tradition, making the most of the opportunities that the Egyptian religious traditions offered them to devise their relations with the Egyptian communities. This ideological inheritance, combined with the fact that the Ptolemaic dynasty was, in the beginning at least, far more stable than the last Egyptian dynasty, is what led to asymmetric power relations between the kings and the temples. Indeed, three aspects of asymmetry may be distinguished:

- The most evident is the administrative control exercised over the temples by representatives of the royal fiscal administration, to whom the temple' personnel were subject.[75]
- The second aspect is the control of the priesthood: as pharaohs the Ptolemies could intervene with its composition, as they did with the institution of a fifth tribe of priest for the Ptolemaic dynastic cult.

this aspect of diplomatic relations as conducted between Ptolemy and the Athenians and between Ptolemy and the body of Egyptian priests (ibidem, 122)." The author's use of the concept of middle ground could lead one to believe that the two parties were equal in such negotiations (ibidem, 123, "mutual recognition," ibidem, 124 "formal medium of communication and negotiation that contributed to maintaining an alliance between the Ptolemaic dynasty and a political body that, in theory at least, represented the Egyptian elite"). However, not only Clarysse 2000a, 50–51, 59, points out that the royal philantropa in these decrees were not royal concessions; Ptolemy had no interest in letting or encouraging the priesthood to organize themselves as a political body. Indeed, the Ptolemies as pharaohs who summoned the priests, had as much power over their own delegates in the temples as a basileus had over the citizens of a city of his kingdom (see discussion below on Antiochos III and Heracleion of Latmos).

[73] Clarysse 2000b, 30, points out that "the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the native temples show the pharaoh in his traditional functions, inaugurating temples and assisting in the installation and burial of sacred animals. They do, however, pose a major problem, because they do not, as a rule, present factual historical events, but rather an ideal situation. The Egyptian pharaoh is the link between gods and men and as such he functions as a permanent high-priest in every single temple of the country. He is the only and omnipresent sacrificer, though in reality this task was of course delegated to the local priests. The same holds true for all other royal activities in the temple."

[74] See Agut and Gorre 2014, 17–36.

[75] See Gorre 2009a, 247–248.

- The third aspect relates to the divine world itself: the Ptolemies intervened in the relations between the gods. An obvious example is the introduction in Egyptian temples of members of the Ptolemaic family as *synnaoi theoi*, who were seen as equal to the local deity, and received the same honors. This third aspect, like the second, is noted on synodal decrees.[76]

Thus, in contrast with the Seleukids who, based on the native religious traditions of the temples in Babylonia and Judaea, had no cultic powers as kings, the Ptolemies had extensive powers of intervention in the internal matters of the Egyptian temples.[77]

These asymmetric power relations may have been perceived as less intrusive and coercive than they actually were for three reasons. First, according to Thompson's study of the Memphite temples, the interference of the royal fiscal administration may be described as a "velvet glove"[78] because, whereas the royal agents had full control over the finances of the temples in which they served, they bore Egyptian titles. Second, in their relations with the temples the Ptolemies mixed innovative Hellenistic practices with both pharaonic traditions and innovations of the last Egyptian dynasty. At first glance this combination of old and new seems to support the view that the relations between the Ptolemies and the temples met in a middle ground. In my view, the Ptolemies were simply pragmatic: they adopted the ways of government that proved to work. Third, the temples and the crown had shared interests, and it cannot be ruled out that the priestly elite anticipated the Ptolemies' expectations. On one hand, according to their theological system the Egyptian priest needed an acknowledged ruling pharaoh; on the other, they were faced with a king who had fiscal and military powers. Given this situation, we may surmise that it was in the priests' interest to present themselves as potential partners in the establishment of the Ptolemies' royal legitimacy over Egypt.[79]

Based on these three factors, we can now examine this asymmetric power relationship between the kings and the temples. Due to their position of power over the temples, the Ptolemies intervened in their administrative organization and the personnel.[80] In the next section, we discuss what role the traditions inherited from both the pharaohs and the Nektanebids played in this process.

The administrative policy of the Nektanebids

In order to secure their rule over Egypt, the Ptolemies used a mixture of old and new practices. This can be illustrated by the fact that they continued practices that

76 See Clarysse 2000a, 44, 60, 64.
77 See Gorre and Honigman 2013 and 2014.
78 See Thompson 1988, 111.
79 According to Clarysse 2000a, 51–56, this attitude may be illustrated by the synodal decrees composed by the Egyptian priests. Alongside an Egyptian decorum, these decrees reflected the adoption of the Greek ways to honor the king.
80 See Gorre 2009a.

had been initiated by the Nektanebids, the thirtieth and last dynasty of Egypt, in particular in their policy towards the temples. Under the Nektanebids, the main Egyptian sanctuaries were subjected to the control of the royal fiscal administration by means of royal scribes who had extended powers over the temple administrations and were established within them.[81] Moreover, the introduction of these royal scribes seems to have been a counterbalance for the royal funding to the temples, with the distribution of the product of royal taxes to the temples as mentioned in the Saïs decree of Nektanebo I (380 BCE).[82] The Nektanebids' policy had a twofold aspect. On one hand, the temples enjoyed new revenues; on the other, they lost their independence in two ways – by becoming economically dependent on the crown's generosity and by having their internal administration subjected to the royal fiscal administration.

The Ptolemies carried the Nektanebids' policy further by systematizing royal administrative and financial control over the temples, while also increasing the royal subsidies to those temples. Moreover, in contrast with the Nektanenids, the Ptolemaic policy did not result in the transfer of revenues from the crown to the temples and hence in the dispossession of the king's revenues. Thus to index the royal subsidies that were allocated to temples to finance the dynastic cult on a stable source of revenues, in the 260s BCE Ptolemy II created the *apomoira* tax.[83] While the revenues of this tax had previously been levied by the temples, the king now appropriated them, only to allocate them back as compensation for the introduction of the dynastic cult. In other words, with the *apomoira*, the Ptolemies generously subsidized their own dynastic cult with revenues previously belonging to the temples.[84] This reform is evidence of the strong position of the Ptolemies in the Egyptian temples. Indeed, it seems that their position of negotiation vis-à-vis the subject local communities – in Egypt, meaning the temples – was not only stronger than that of the Nektanebids' before them, mostly because of the latter's own weakness, but also than that of the Seleukids with the Babylonian temples.[85] The difference between the two Hellenistic dynasties may be seen in the relations between Antiochos III and the small Carian city of Heracleion of Latmos. This case is related to taxes formerly leased by the polis to tax farmers. According to Ma, Antiochos III decided to retrocede the revenues of this tax to the city's gymnasium and not to seize it as he originally planned, as compensation to the citizens acknowledging his rule.[86] Based on this example, it would appear that in

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81 See Agut and Gorre 2014, 35–36.

82 De Meulenaere, 1997, 22, points that the "scribe royaux qui comptent tous les biens" could be defined as "hauts fonctionnaires." These royal scribes "se manifestent pour la première fois dans la documentation à la XXXème dynastie, et leur soudaine apparition est très probablement liée aux réformes fiscales de Nectanébo I dont nous percevons quelques échos dans la célèbre stèle de Naukratis (*i.e. the Saïs decree*). Une partie de ces scribes comptables opèrent dans les temples."

83 See Clarysse and Vandorpe 1998, 5–42.

84 Later in the 3rd century BCE, the *syntaxeis* seemed also to be the counterpart to the confiscation of revenue directly levied by the temples, see Vandorpe 2005, 165–171.

85 Clancier and Monerie 2014, 181–237.

86 See Ma 2003, 182–183.

his relations with local communities, Antiochos III had to make costly concessions. This was also true for the Nektanebids, but far less so when Ptolemy II introduced the dynastic cult in the Egyptian temples.

The revival of a New-Kingdom priestly title

Alongside their increased administrative control of the temples, the Ptolemies further intervened in the composition of the priesthood, i.e., the second aspect. This aspect of their policy may be first exemplified by their revival of an old priestly title, the "chief of the prophets of all the gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt," which was originally created during the New Kingdom, a thousand years before the Macedonian era.[87] The title's holders were then chosen among the kings' close supporters and/or relatives (e.g. Khamouas, son of Ramses II),[88] and the high priests were their direct representatives in the Egyptian temples. Before the Macedonian era, the last known holder of this function lived under XXIIth dynasty (10–8th century BCE).[89] The context in which this function was created anew under the reign of Ptolemy II is documented by the inscriptions of the High Priest of Ptah but it is unclear if the title was held by the first or second High Priest of Ptah.[90] However, due to the close relationship between the High Priest of Ptah and the Ptolemies, the function of "chief of the prophets of all the gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt" indicates a control, at least indirect, of the Crown on the temples – the first High Priest of Ptah of Ptolemaic times was appointed by the king himself, who had previously entrusted him with the introduction of the dynastic cult in the Memphis temple.[91] This high priest was the first of a dynasty that may be traced down to the beginning of the Roman period. Before the Ptolemaic Period the last attested holder of this title lived under the reign of Amasis (568–525 BCE).[92] This could indicate that the function disappeared with the first Persian invasion and was recreated, as the title of "chief of the prophets of all the gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt," by the Ptolemies.[93] The fact that the powers held by the immediate successors of the first high priest were increased is evidence that this family enjoyed the support of the Ptolemies; they were in charge not only of the dynastic cult, but also of the royal subsidies that financed it.[94] This was due to their authority, at least nominal, over all the temples and priests of Egypt.[95]

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87 See Maystre 1992, 79.
88 See Maystre 1992, 147–156.
89 Ibid. 166/361.
90 See Gorre 2009a, 297, 300–302.
91 Gorre 2009a, 289–291.
92 See Maystre 1992, 174–175.
93 The main argument in favor of a dissapearance is that the silence of the documentation is difficult to explain, particularly for the XXXth dynasty which is particularly well documented.
94 See Gorre 2009a, 302, 612.
95 The power of this family is, however, strictly religious, meaning that, outside the temples, they were not considered as representatives of the king, unlike the High Priest of the New Kingdom who could be first minister

Finally, the second High Priest of Ptah had the title of Chief of the Royal Insignia.[96] If this title can be interpreted literally, it may indicate that he was responsible for the pharaonic coronation of the contemporary Ptolemy, who was Ptolemy III.[97] It is significant that it was under Ptolemy III's reign that the practice of the synod summoning was established.[98]

To conclude this part of the discussion, in order to wield their authority over the temples, the Ptolemies took over and improved aspects of the Nektanebid policy and revived an old dynastic priestly title. However, these interferences were limited to matters of the temples' administration and personnel.

Conclusions

Generally, the shift from Persian sovereignty to Macedonian sovereignty appears to have passed without any major turmoil: Greco-Roman sources even attest to an enthusiastic reception.[99] Despite Briant's insistence on the biased nature of the ancient sources with regards to the relationship between the Persians and the Egyptians,[100] the unanimous character of the Egyptians as being averse to the Persians is implicitly contradicted by the service to the Great King of a number of them, such as Samtoutephnachtes. In fact, the arrival of the Macedonians constitutes a break in the good relations that the Egyptian elite had been so far able to maintain with a foreign power. Indeed, the integration of the Macedonians in the pharaonic "mold" appears less obvious than for the Achaemenids. Despite the indications of a consciousness that the pharaonic traditions constituted a powerful means of legitimization, as seen in the heart of the shrine of Karnak, Ptolemy son of Lagos did not establish a regular basis of exchange with the temples. The same hesitation is seen from the side of the Egyptian clergy: neither the priests of Buto, the Satrap Stela, nor Teos the Savior of Athribis knew how to address the Macedonians.[101] A side of the temple elite, the former Egyptian military elite linked to the old dynasty, faced without a doubt a more unfavorable situation. The Egyptian military had suffered the undoing of Nektanebids,[102] and Ptolemy's interest in them must have

as "vizir." The biographical inscription of one of these Ptolemaic high priests explicitly states that there was a hierarchy between him and the royal representatives: see Gorre 2009a, 307, 612–613.

96 See Gorre 2009a, 302–303.

97 There is no direct evidence of the pharaonic coronation of the Ptolemies before the synodal decree of Memphis (196 BCE). However, as, beginning with Ptolemy III, national sacerdotal decrees characterized the Ptolemies as legitimate rulers with all the prerogatives of pharaoh (see El-Masry, Altenmüller and Thissen 2012), it would have been very offensive to the Egyptian priests if, in counterpart, the Macedonians had not submitted themselves to an Egyptian coronation ceremony in Alexandria until the Memphite coronation as noted in the decree of Memphis.

98 See Gorre-Veïsse, forthcoming.

99 Diod. 17.49.2; Curt. 4.7.1–3.

100 Briant 2016, 878.

101 Gorre 2017.

102 See Chauveau 2016 for the ravage of Sebennytos, the capital of the XXXth dynasty during the second Persian domination.

been limited: he did not need the former senior officers of the dynastic era to lead the ancillary Egyptian troops, officers of the intermediate ranks were sufficient. This differs from the situation, after 260, which saw the establishment of perennial conditions extended to the whole country for the establishment of relations between the Macedonian power and the temples, thanks to the introduction of dynastic worship in those temples.[103]

[103] For the consequences for the temples and the priesthood of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult establishment inside the temples, see Gorre-Veïsse (forthcoming).

Appendix: Typology of the earliest private inscriptions of the Macedonian period

No accurate dating

- Kapefhaamon,[104] XXIIth dynasty or contemporaneous with Chapocrates who could have been his superior for the supervision of the restoration of the sanctuary of Amun in Thebes during the satrapy of Ptolemy, under the name of Philip Arrhidaeus. Kapefhaamon was not involved in the building work *per se*, which was undertaken by Chapochrates, but provided the sacred furnitures. As Chapochrates clearly acted on the behalf of the Macedonians (see infra), it could indicate that the furnitures were funded by the local priesthood.
- Sminis, priest of Coptos in charge of the dynastic cult of the Nektanebids. His statue is dated to the beginning of the Hellenistic period based solely on stylistic criteria.[105]
- Horos, governor of Herakleopolis and benefactor of the local temple. XXXth dynasty and beginning of the Hellenistic period?[106] Horos seems to have had no religious title but was devoted to the local god and conducted works building in the temples.[107] The hypothesis that Horos was still an important military officer during the beginning of the Macedonian period[108] seems contradicted by the fact that his biographical inscription indicates no ties with the new authority of the country.
- Psentesoos, Memphite priest who claimed to work in the palace but without mentioning royal name; the only criterium of dating is a stylistic one.[109]
- Nektanebis, Egyptian general who belonged to the royal family of the XXXth dynasty through his mother. According to his title he was in charge of the eastern border and the mercenaries (i.e. the Greeks). Despite the fact that the inscription on his sarcophagus offers no timeline, his career has been usually considered as contemporaneous with the beginning of the Hellenistic period, which would mean that Ptolemy, satrap or king, entrusted him with the most important Egyptian border and gave him authority over the Greek mercenaries.[110]

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104 Gorre 2009a, no15.

105 Gorre 2009a, no 26

106 Gorre 2009a, no 41, in part. pp. 203–207 for the discussion on dating.

107 Gorre 2009a, 207, n. c.

108 It was the hypothesis of Vercoutter 1950, 114, first editor of Horos' inscriptions.

109 Gorre 2009a, no 44.

110 Gorre 2009a, no 79. See pp. 399–400 for the discussion of such assumptions which seems contradictory to the Hellenistic military practices. For De Meulenaere 1986, 204, the titles of Nektanebis referred to the period prior to the Persian conquest.

- Teos-the-Lion, known by his statue as "a commanding general of the army, purely Egyptian" under Ptolemy I, according to Bothmer, quoted after personal communication with Welles who is, unfortunately, not more specific[111]; however, this dating has now been challenged.[112] Indeed, Teos certainly had a connection with a Ptolemaic king, as his belt buckle is ornamented with a cartouche which contains the hieroglyphic phonetic transcription of the royal name Ptolemy. This document would be the clearest attestation of close relationships between a member of the Egyptian elite and Ptolemy I, if he is the Ptolemy referenced. Nevertheless, this raises another question: what is the criterion of dating this statue and which Ptolemy does it refer to? The short writing of the name without any epithets is indeed a characteristic of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II, for the later kings of the dynasty the name of Ptolemy is usually following by an epithet (the most common is "Beloved of Ptah"). But this short writing could also simply be explained by the lack of space. Bothmer is, according to Welles, behind this dating. As a consequence, the criterion must be stylistic: for Bothmer every high-quality statue which presented traditional characteristics (particularly concerning the garment, as it is the case for this statue) must date from the earlier Hellenistic period. However, such criteria cannot be retained nowadays as some statues initially dated to the early Hellenistic period by Bothmer have since been redated, with certainty, to the end of the 2nd century or the 1st century, due to the content of the inscriptions.[113]

Accurate dating but no or limited relations with the Macedonian authority

Under Ptolemy Satrap

- Petosiris, High Priest of Hermopolis. Petosiris' family was appointed during the last Egyptian dynasty and then subsequently confirmed by the Persians. The biographical inscription could date to after the Macedonian conquest, as the Persian period is described as a difficult time. The inscription does not mention the living ruler as the Pharaoh; therefore, as a consequences, it must be during the time of Ptolemy Satrap. Aside from the rhetorical statement that he was rewarded by the royal authority, nothing indicates a closer relationship with the Macedonians. The inscription does, however, describe precisely what Petosiris did in the temple – most notably his building work – but this cannot be clarified as the same building work carried out in the name of Philip Arrhidaeus.[114]
- Samtoutephnachtes, a priest of Herakleopolis and one of the Great King of Persia's physicians who returned to Egypt after Alexander the Great's victory. However,

111 Welles 1970, 510, n. 31.
112 Chevereau 1985, 177; Derchain 1997, 127–128.
113 See Gorre 2009a, no 76, 82.
114 Gorre 2009a, no 39, in part. pp. 186–187 for the discussion on dating.

the mention of "His Majesty" in the inscription refers to the local god and not to a Greek ruler.[115]

- Anonymous elder son of Nektanebis II,[116] the last Egyptian king, who was deported to Persia but succeeded in returning to Egypt in unknown circumstances. This return could have been after the victory of Alexander the Great, as in the case of Samtoutephnachtes;[117] however, the new authority is never quoted.
- Amenothes, son of the High Priest of Amun in Thebes. With Kapefhaamon (see above), Amenothes also supervised the building work previously mentioned in the temple of Amun in Thebes, but he had less responsibility than the appointee of the Macedonian power, Chapochrates (see infra).[118] Indeed, according to the inscription, he was by no means a representative of the Macedonian authority, although he was a member of the most important priestly family.
- Teos the Savior, secondary rank priest of Athribis, who tried to protect the temples against a military settlement,[119] and supervised building work in the temple. His statue is inscribed in the name of Philip Arrhideus, but with an incomplete pharaonic title as the first cartouche is uninscribed. He acted in the temple under his own name and not as a representative of Macedonian authority.

Under Ptolemy I

- Horos, priest of Tentyris. Horos claimed to have restored the ruined temple single-handedly, and contrary to the inscription of Chapochrates (see infra) no royal intervention is stated. In a cultic scene, Ptolemy I appears in the traditional role reserved for Pharaoh.[120]

Accurate dating and relations with the Macedonians

Under the Ptolemy Satrap

- Horhetep consecrated an altar inscribed with the name of Alexander the Great in the temple of the Bahariya Oasis, which could imply a local Macedonian cult.[121]
- Chapochrates, priest of the Amon temple in Thebes, known as the supervisor of the building work carried out in the name of Philip Arrhideus.[122] Chapochrates who was a secondary rank priest had authority over members of the high priesthood – the

[115] Gorre 2009a, no 42.
[116] Gorre 2009a, no 74.
[117] The inscription is ambiguous. It is possible that it was the Great King who authorized him to return in Egypt; however, this does not seem plausible as the second Persian occupation was very brief, and it is difficult to understand why the Great King would decide to deport him and then return him to Egypt not long after.
[118] Gorre 2009a, no 14.
[119] Gorre 2009a, no 70.
[120] Gorre 2009a, no 28.
[121] Gorre 2009a, no 86.
[122] Gorre 2009a, no 13.

son of the High Priest and another priest (see above). His position in the temple can be explained by his connection with the Macedonian authority: his building work seems to have been funded by the new power.[123]

- Perhaps Kapefhaamon, quoted previously in 1.1.1 "No accurate dating." If this man is contemporaneous with Chaprochrates, he would have worked under him.
- Secondary rank Memphite anonymous priest, summoned by a ruler of the country who seems to be Ptolemy Satrap and appointed, at least according to his biographical inscriptions, as counsellor.[124] This private inscription shows several parallels with the inscription of the Satrap Stela – the presence of Egyptian counsellors around Ptolemy and the designation of the Macedonian as the ruler of Egypt *de facto* but non *de jure*.[125]

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[123] He held both the title of "royal scribe" and of "accounting scribe of the temple" as supervisor of the work building.

[124] Gorre 2009a, no 43.

[125] See Derchain 2000, 69.

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Chapter 7

Kings Don't Lie: Truthtelling, Historiography and Ptolemy I Soter

Timothy Howe

> For I am a king who loves Truth! My main fear is the Lie! [I am] a son who protects his father, who has taken possession of the inheritance of Geb,[1] who has (already) united the two halves [of Egypt] as a youth! (Psammetichos I, *Adoption Stele of Nitokris* (656 BCE)).[2]
>
> "A king," [Alexander] said, "in his relations with his subjects, must speak nothing other than the truth, nor should anyone under his rule suppose that the king speaks anything other than the truth" (Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.5.2).

As Assmann (2002, 374) has observed, "the Ptolemies went to immense trouble to be good pharaohs. They studied Egyptian traditions to find out what was expected of a good king and they did everything they could to live up to that standard."[3] A crucial element of that pharaonic "standard" was truthtelling, being a good son and protecting the legacy of one's father (or predecessor, if founding a new dynasty), and uniting the two halves of Egypt, as Psammetichos I reminds us in the quotation above.

When Ptolemy took control of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE, his first priority was making Egypt an independent and secure base – as Psammetichos I might put it, "protecting his 'father'[4] (Alexander) and uniting the two halves of Egypt." A pivotal part of Ptolemy's plan involved securing support (or at least

[1] Egyptian god of the earth and father of snakes. See Ogden 2009; 2013 and Barbantani 2014 for the role of snakes in Ptolemaic legitimacy and ideology.

[2] Cairo Museum, *Journal d'Entrée* 36327.

[3] Thompson 2018 offers a recent analysis on the ways Ptolemy "adapted" to Egyptian modalities.

[4] The connections between father-son (predecessor-successor) kings is a recurrent theme in priestly wisdom literature from the Middle and New Kingdoms such as *Teaching of Amenemhat I to Senwosret I* and the *Teaching for Merikare*, the latter written by the same Pentaweret who authored the *Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre* (see below): Manassa 2013, 32–3. English translations of these texts can be found in Simpson *et al.* 2003, 152–65 and 166–71, respectively. The relationship between father and son need not be biological: Gundlach 1997; Höbl

non-interference) from the Egyptian population by stressing his respect for Egyptian tradition.[5] To do this, Ptolemy used the literary and iconographic styles of Egypt to stress his reverence for his predecessor, Alexander.[6] As such, Ptolemy willingly invested in Egyptian cultural modes of expression, signaling to the Egyptian elites that they and their traditions mattered and that there was room in Ptolemy's system for them.[7] Here, Ptolemy followed in the well-trodden path of other "outsider" pharaohs in Egypt, such as Kashta of Kush, his son Piankhy,[8] and the Achaemenid Darius I.[9] Effectively, Ptolemy stepped into an existing system that had "out-of-the-box" iconography and literary topoi in order to portray himself (and allow himself to be portrayed),[10] as a good Egyptian pharaoh.[11] But Ptolemy was only able to do this because Egyptian historiography had been curating and reiterating the legitimacy of usurpers and foreign invaders for millennia.[12] Ptolemy's reign was but the latest chapter in a broad and complex cultural history of personal leadership in the ancient Mediterranean.

What is most interesting is not that the Egyptians had such an infrastructure to legitimate outsiders, but that Ptolemy I was savvy enough to recognize the value of these Egyptian traditions.[13] For all intents and purposes, Ptolemy could become "Egyptian" to his Egyptian subjects and the harmony that resulted from this created a new order that both Ptolemy and the Egyptian elites invested in maintaining.[14] As a result, across the length and breadth of Egypt, the Ptolemies and their priestly allies inscribed the vital fact that Ptolemy I was a pious Egyptian king who upheld Truth, Justice and Order (Ma'at).[15] This "Egyptian identity" has been most clearly observed in the Satrap Stele[16] but it was present, in some form, in all of the texts and

1997; Blöbaum 2006, *passim*. For Ptolemy and Alexander, see Ladynin 2011; 2016; 2017, 75–80, 126–39. See Felber 2003 for the ways in which later Ptolemies develop the tradition.

5 Koenen 1983; Gorre 2017 and Gorre, this volume; Ockinga 2018. One of Ptolemy's more celebrated acts was to prohibit the alienation of cult properties (*Koptisches Sammelbuch* 16.12519.1–10), see below.

6 For the curation of Alexander's Egyptian royal titulature under Ptolemy I see Bosch-Puche 2013; 2014a; 2014b. For the monuments and titulature of Alexander IV and Philip Arrhidaios, see Blöbaum 2006, 316–4, 424–8. For Ptolemy's numismatic engagement with an "Egyptianized" Alexander see Lorber 2012 and this volume. For Ptolemy's complex relationship with the Egyptian priesthood see Huß 1992; 1994b; 1997, which has now been in part superceded by Gorre 2009 and Gorre, this volume.

7 This interaction, though, was asymmetrical. Ptolemy led, the Egyptian elite followed. See Gorre 2009 and Gorre, this volume. Cf. Baines 2004.

8 Tökök 1995; 2009; Morkot 2000, 150–53; Blöbaum 2006, 313–27; Ockinga 2018, 3; cf. Klingott 2007.

9 Posener 1936; Huß 1997; Blöbaum 2006, 43–59, 344–47; Chauveau and Thiers 2006; Wasmuth 2015.

10 See Gorre, this volume, for the complex interdependencies nurtured by Ptolemaic "interest" in royal monuments.

11 All of this is engaged on the Stele of the Satrap (see below). See Blöbaum 2006 and Gozzoli 2009 for recent assessments of the role these elements played in Late Period Egyptian royal legitimacy and identity.

12 E.g. Baines 1995; Gozzoli 2009; Manassa 2013.

13 In much the same way, Horace notes Rome was "conquered" by the *Greeks: Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio. Epistles* 2.1.156–7. Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disc.* 1.1.3.

14 Baines 2004; Gorre, this volume.

15 A common refrain throughout the Argead and Ptolemaic periods is: "Truth and Order (Ma'at) had come out of heaven at her proper time and united with the earth. There was no Lie or wrongness (Isfet) in the land" (e.g. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* VIII, 81; *Edfu* V, 85). Assmann 2006, 225–6; Blöbaum 2006, 1–2.

16 E.g. Ladynin 2005; 2007; Klingott 2007; 2014; Schäfer 2009; 2011; Morentz 2011; Cauville 2017; Ockinga 2018; Caneva, this volume.

images created under Ptolemy I and his successors.[17] Even Ptolemy I's later "History" of Alexander seems to have been effected to some degree by his early adoption of Egyptian literary themes.[18] Indeed, Ptolemy's History is simply one further chapter in the ancient and complex Mediterranean discourse on kingship.[19]

While many have noted that pro-Ptolemaic Greek historiography regularly highlighted Ptolemy's positive leadership qualities[20] – such as collegiality towards certain fellow Diadochoi and concern for Macedonian soldiers[21] – and his Diadoch rivals' bad ones – self-interest and greed[22] – they have explored only the Greek and Macedonian aspects of Ptolemy's historiographic message, and not probed the effect that Ptolemy's rule over Egypt and its links (and debts) to Egyptian historical tradition may have affected this Greek-language historiography.[23] Although I once argued otherwise, I think Caneva (2016, 47–59) is correct to place Ptolemy's Greek and Egyptian historiographic efforts in separate realms and understand them as directed to distinctly separate audiences.[24] And yet, despite this important separation, I hope to demonstrate in what follows that the wall between the two historiographic genres (Egyptian and Greek) was not impermeable and that just as Lorber has shown with Ptolemy's coinage, there was a certain amount of cross-fertilization between Ptolemy I's "Greek" and "Egyptian" messages.[25]

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[17] These themes are prominent in the coinage of Ptolemy I (Lorber, this volume) and the great texts of the realm but, significantly, they are also engaged by "minor" texts, produced by Egyptians not in conversation with royal literary outputs, suggesting the wide range and impact of Ptolemaic royal themes. Ryholt 2010; 2013; Moyer 2011.

[18] Worthington 2016, 214 raises the excellent point that we do not have Ptolemy's history but only paraphrases culled from later writers. Yet, as I argued in my commentary on the Ptolemy fragments, even rough, decontextualized paraphrases are sufficient to get a general sense of the themes and issues that Ptolemy considered worthy of treatment: Howe 2018b, biographical essay. Indeed, all modern commentators agree that Ptolemy wrote an apologetic text, stressing his special role as Alexander's close confidant and chosen lieutenant: e.g. Kornemann 1935, 179; Wirth 1959, 2469–75; Welles 1963; Badian 1964, 256–8; Seibert 1969, *passim*, esp. 176–89; Errington 1969; Goukowski 1978, 141–5; Rosen 1979, 462–72; Bosworth 1980, 22–7; 1996, 41–53; Roisman 1984; Schepens 1998, 91; Huß 2001, 90–95 s; Caroli 2007, 201–7; Muckensturm-Poulle 2009; Bearzot 2011, 60; Meeus 2014, 305; Howe 2015a; 2016; Pownall (forthcoming); Heckel, this volume.

[19] Herodotos' *Historia*, Ktesias' *Persica* and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis* provide earlier Greek-language treatments on how royal charismatic leadership is received and *a posteriori*, analyzed through historiographic narrative. I think it is in this crucible of cultural reception that we should understand Ptolemy's history. See discussion, below.

[20] E.g. Welles 1963; Errington 1969; Roisman 1984; Stadter 1980, 67–76; Bosworth 1980, 43; Worthington 2016, 213–219. Full references in Howe 2015a.

[21] These are examined recently by Caneva 2016, 47–59.

[22] Errington 1969; Müller 2013b; 2014, 237; Caneva 2016, 47–59; Howe (forthcoming); cf. Roisman 1984.

[23] Ogden 2009; 2014; Howe 2013; 2014; and Pownall 2014 and forthcoming, are some notable exceptions.

[24] Howe 2008. The more closely I have studied Egyptian literature – especially royal and demotic literature from the Ptolemaic period – and the fragments of Ptolemy's Greek language history of the Alexander campaign, the more I have come to see that these two genres have different discourses and different intended audiences. And while they might share some features, if only for consistency's sake, they speak to very different populations. In 2008, my argument captured the many similarities between the two but failed to address the even greater differences.

[25] See Lorber, this volume.

Truth, legitimation and historiography in Ancient Egypt

For thousands of years before the Macedonians arrived, the Egyptians had been developing history as a conversation between kings and gods, mediated by powerful priests, and written on temple walls.[26] Consequently, Egyptian historiography had a uniquely cultic vocabulary and syntax:

> In Egyptian royal texts such as triumphal reliefs and military stelae, the enemy is always depicted as rebellious, while the pharaoh is the one who wins whenever he comes to the battlefield. This feature has been generically called propaganda. The term is usually interpreted in its negative aspects, as full of bombastic expressions celebrating the king and his deeds. But for an ancient Egyptian, any event was strictly bound to the concept of ritual: a king's victory against his enemies is represented as defeating the Nine Bows – his cosmic enemies. Therefore, whether he had effectively won [against] the Nine Bows or not becomes entirely irrelevant, as the pharaoh's victories permitted the maintenance of the order of the world, represented by Ma'at, which the supreme god has predestined for his people. Any narrated happening stands on a double plan in the Egyptian mental horizon. The first is linear: any royal deed follows an earlier one in chronological scale. The second plan is instead cyclical: as the Nile inundation happens every year, any space of events will return again in the future. At this point, any royal victory becomes the re-enactment of a primordial victory made by some ancestors (Gozzoli 2009: 3–4).

As Gozzoli notes, the central concept here was Ma'at (***M3ˁ.t***), truth, justice and order, which in Egyptian literature is juxtaposed with Isfet (***Jsf.t***), lie, wrongness, and chaos. Psammetichos I's statement on the stele celebrating the elevation of his daughter Netokris to the important political and cultic office of "God's Wife" illustrates this dichotomy well: "For I am a king who loves Truth! My main fear is the lie!"[27] Yet "loving truth" means that the king must actively fight against the lie and keep the cosmos in order, for among the Egyptians the king is primarily and uniquely responsible for the creation and maintenance of Ma'at.[28] In this role, the king acts as a mediator to

[26] Hornung 1966 is the foundational work on this subject. Cf. Schepens 1983. See Gozzoli 2009, 3–6 for bibliography. For a recent assessment of these cyclical themes in Ptolemaic conceptions of history see Moyer 2011a, 125; Ladynin 2017, 30–74.

[27] Cairo Museum, *Journal d'Entrée* 36327. The Adoption Stele of Nitokris: 9th year of Psammetichos, Karnak, Temple of Amun, courtyard 1/2 pylon; Blöbaum 2003. In March of 656 BCE after he had driven out the Kushite occupation in Lower Egypt, the Saite King Psammetichos I (XXVIth Dynasty) sailed with a large fleet to Thebes in Upper Egypt and compelled the serving God's Wife of Amun, Shepenupet II, a daughter of Piankhy (XXVth Dynasty), the last Kushite king, to adopt his daughter Nitokris I as her heir to this powerful office. For Psammetichos' career see Spallinger 1976 and 1978. For the office of God's Wife in the Late Period see Ayad 2009, esp. 116–52, for the role played by adoption in general and 139–40 for the adoption of Nitokris in particular. The Saite kings became models for Ptolemy I and his descendants on "how to be Egyptian": Assmann 2002, 374; Manning 2009, 78, 81.

[28] The relationship of the king to Ma'at is emphasized and commemorated by the royal names and epithets of the king, one of the most common of which is "lover" or "beloved" of Ma'at (***Mr (j)- M3ˁ.t***). The Argead kings and Ptolemy I and his successors used this in their royal titulature; Bosch-Puche 2008; 2013; 2014a; 2104b; Ladynin 2016. See Blöbaum 2006, 97, 120, 228 and Hallof 2010, *passim* for an analysis of the epithets of the Macedonian kings.

transmit the cosmic order to the human world – literally the king speaks or does true things (***ḏd, jr (j) M3ʿ.t***) and because of his actions the Egyptian people experience peace and order.[29] Indeed, the establishment and maintenance of Ma'at by the king is an integral part of the legitimation argument of every Egyptian ruler. The claim "I restored Ma'at/I love Ma'at," is especially common among kings whose path to the throne was more circuitous than the norm (i.e. usurpers or foreigners).[30] Thus, for Egyptian conceptions of royal power and authority, acting and speaking honorably and truthfully is seen as a significant kingly attribute and is inextricably bound up in restoring and preserving the harmony and order of the two lands of Egypt.[31]

This establishment and maintenance of order is closely linked to the fight against chaos, a polarity that can be seen clearly in a claim by the Saite king Taharqo, from his sixth year in office: "He established Ma'at throughout the countries, Isfet he stuck in the ground."[32] For the most part Isfet (***Jsf.t***) is generally translated as "unjustness," but in the later period when Ptolemy I ruled Egypt, it had gained more specific meaning – "lie."[33] By the time of the Macedonian conquest of Egypt, lying did not mean simply the lack of (the absence of) truth, justice and harmony in Egyptian royal literature and historiography, but actively working to create untruth, disharmony and violence. According to Assmann, the world of the living, on which the king is to realize Ma'at by means of jurisprudence, religious dedications and military actions, is not a *tabula rasa*, but a sphere where the king must continually act to prevail over nature, over the natural condition of Isfet. If he does not, he brings shame on himself and the realm.[34]

We can see these dynamic at work in the New Kingdom *Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre,* which comes to us nested in another document, a royal scribal manual, written by the scribe Pentaweret some 340 years after the events described.[35] The "Quarrel" appears to provide an entertaining and instructive *exempli gratia* about the need for a divinely appointed and legitimate king who will free the realm from Isfet and restore Ma'at. As Colleen Manassa (2013, 158) puts it, "fictionalizing military events suggests not only a desire to seek out relevant or interesting facts within the historical record, but also the desire to choose past events that were particularly relevant to 'current events.'" Thus, Manassa argues, Egyptian Historiography consciously deployed historiographic content to instruct future audiences.

It seems to have worked: these same themes of legitimate rule, truth and order are used to effect by the first non-native rulers of Egypt, the Nubians. In the 750s,

29 Assmann 2006, 204–5; Blöbaum 2006, 97. E.g. Khartum 2678, Merowe Museum No. 52; Cairo Museum, *Journal d'Entrée* 36327; Copenhagen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* ÆIN 1712.
30 See Gundlach 1997; Höbl 1997; Blöbaum 2006, 29–31, 96–7, 175–209.
31 Blöbaum 2006, 94–6, with evidence represented graphically in tables.
32 Cairo Museum, *Journal d'Entrée* 48440, 38269. Blöbaum 2006, 120.
33 Assmann 2006, 213; Blöbaum 2006, 120.
34 Assmann 2006, 213; Blöbaum 2006, 120.
35 We see a similar dynamic under the Ptolemies with regard to the Assyrian and Persian invasions: Ryholt 2004; 2010; 2013.

hundreds of years after Pentaweret wrote his manual, the XXVth Dynasty Nubian King Piankhy offers a demonstration of his "Egyptian" values on his Victory Stele[36]:

> 1. One came to say to his majesty: "the Chief of the West, the lord and ruler in Netjer, Tefnakht, … has conquered the entire West … with the Two Lands united behind him, and the counts and rulers of domains are as dogs at his feet.… 17 [Says King Piankhy life, prosperity, health] "Amun of Napata has granted me to be ruler of every foreign country… Amun in Thebes has granted me to be king of Egypt.… I [Piankhy] swear, as Re loves me, as my father Amun favors me, I shall go north myself! I shall tear down (25.) his [Tefnakht's] works. I shall make him abandon fighting forever! I shall end the Pestilence in the Two Lands! … I shall restore Ma'at!" (trans. Lichtheim 1980, 68 f.)

Centuries later, Darius I uses a similar template, though even more than Piankhy, Darius takes care to explain that even though he is a foreigner, he respects and understands Egyptian traditions of "doing" Ma'at. The Canal Stelae, set up at Tell el-Maskhuta (Cairo Museum *Journal d'Entrée* 48855), Kabret (Posener 1936, 63–81) and Suez (Posener 1936, 81–87) and written in Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian and Egyptian Hieroglyphics, contain fictive "teaching" stories about the military and diplomatic deeds of past Egyptian kings, much like the stories about Apepi and Seqenenre embedded in Pentaweret's manual and Piankhy's Stelae, that show Darius working in an Egyptian cultural idiom to maintain prosperity and order in the Two Lands.[37] But what is especially significant about all of these stelae (as with those celebrating the actions of Ptolemy discussed below) is that they contain iconography that communicates these legitimating themes to the non-literate (much like the images on Darius' contemporary Behistun inscription in the Zagros Mountains of Iran).[38] In a similar fashion, Darius' images on the temple of Horus at Hibis in Egypt show Darius slaying the Apophis serpent, another representation of Isfet. According to Wasmuth, this imagery allows Darius to shout out his name and qualifications:

[36] Cairo Museum *Journal d'Entrée* 48862, 47086–7. For the historical background see Morkot 2000, 150–53. For the texts and their literary and linguistic contexts see Gozzoli 2009, 51–67.

[37] Gozzoli 2009, 116–121; Wasmuth 2015.

[38] This content of the Behistun text has much in common with Darius' Egyptian stele and may have been their inspiration. Gozzoli 2009, 124 argues that there is syncretism between the dualism of Ma'at *vs* Isfet in the Canal Stele and truth *vs* lie in Darius' Behistun inscription. Certainly, the texts are in conversation, though to what degree it might be impossible to reconstruct. Several points of comparison are worth mentioning, however. Darius' marginalizing of Gaumata, the "false Smerdis" as a liar and pretender in Behistun 11–14, are strikingly similar to both Pentaweret's Seqenenre and Piankhy's Tefnakht. Further, just as with the "Quarrel" text, on the Behistun monument titles matter – Darius claims Gaumata lies to the people about being a king, for only Darius is king because Ahuramazda made him king. As many have shown (e.g. Müller 2009), the "lie" is an important motif for Darius and his descendants, and so asserting that Gaumata claimed to be king when he was not is ritualistically important. Further, the text asserts that the people joined Gaumata in his revolt, taken in by his lies. But Darius is careful to point out that none other than himself could put an end to Gaumata or his revolt. Darius and no one else dispossessed Gaumata of the kingdom. Darius and no one else brought order and restored the prosperity, which the people had in the days of old. In the end, Darius' triumphal narrative would have much that would resonate with Egyptians. Perhaps for this reason he had copies made in Aramaic and circulated throughout Egypt: Behistun 4.91–2; Cowley 1923, 249–250; Porten and Yardeni 1993, 59–71.

Darius, the Persian, the foreign Horus who guarantees Truth, Justice and Order by slaying his foes.[39]

After he takes up his position in Egypt Ptolemy has this rich tradition to draw upon, and not surprisingly, we see similar themes in the so-called Satrap Stele,[40] issued by the priests of Pe and Dep at the Delta town of Buto in 311 BCE. The Satrap Stele celebrates both a gift of land to Horus and his godly "parents" Pe and Dep by Ptolemy I[41] and Ptolemy's recent victory against Antigonos.[42] Ladynin argues, convincingly I think, that in part Ptolemy made this donation to the gods at Buto (and to similar small Delta communities) out of a general fear that Antigonos would unite the empire of Alexander under his sole rule (cf. Diod. 19. 56.2).[43] After he provoked Antigonos and his son Demetrios by invading Syria and beating Demetrios in battle, Ptolemy needed a strong Egypt to protect him from any counter-invasion, needed both his Greek *and* Egyptian subjects working together, for as Manning notes, the priesthood was the key to unlocking native support on a financial and military level.[44] But to achieve such support, Ptolemy would need to speak to the priests in ways they would understand and respect; he would have to convince them that he understood his traditional kingly role to actively "do" Ma'at and thereby maintain the territorial integrity of the two halves of Egypt.[45] The text of the Satrap Stele shows Ptolemy entering this "Middle Ground."[46]

Nonetheless, Ptolemy did not have to "go it alone" as he attempted to protect Egypt from Isfet: the temples and the crown had shared interests, and as Gorre's chapter in this volume illustrates, the priestly elite seem to have anticipated (and accommodated) the Ptolemies' expectations. On one hand, according to their theological system, the Egyptian priests needed an acknowledged ruling pharaoh (how else to maintain Ma'at?), but on the other, they were faced with a king who had fiscal and military powers who could affect their lives in real and potentially

[39] Wasmuth 2015, 215.

[40] Cairo Museum *Journal d'Entrée* 22182. For the Stele and its context see Ladynin 2007; Morentz 2011; Schäfer 2011; Colburn 2015; Ockinga 2018. For the ruin and restoration cycle see Redford, 1986, 259–75; Colburn 2015, 179; Moyer 2011a, 125, on Manetho; cf. Ladynin 2017, 30–74.

[41] Ptolemy is confirming the grant given by his predecessor Khababash to the cult of Horus and his "parents" Pe and Dep (see below). A similar grant (of a local chapel) is also recorded but in the demotic script rather than hieroglyphs; Ray 1989, 54. The shift in script may suggest that the interested parties (the priests and Ptolemy?) wanted to publicize the satrapal generosity to a wider audience. Indeed, Ptolemy seems particularly invested in promoting his support of Egyptian temple lands: *Koptisches Sammelbuch* 16.12519.1–10 = *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées* 40 records that Ptolemy prohibited the alienation of all religious properties, thus prohibiting the conditions that required the "donations" to the priests at Buto. See Hagedorn 1986 and Rigsby 1988.

[42] Ptolemy seems to have been praising his defense of Egypt for some time: Diod. 18.43.1 asserts that "as for Egypt, Ptolemy, after he had unexpectedly rid himself of Perdikkas and the royal forces, was holding that land [Egypt] as if it were a prize of war." For the context of the Peace of 311 see Hauben 2014; Meeus 2014; Anson 2016; Wheatley and Dunn 2019, Chapter 7.

[43] Ladynin 2005, 102–3. For the geopolitics of this period see Anson 2016 and this volume.

[44] Manning 2009, 100–2. See Ladynin 2014 for Ptolemy I's investment in temple infrastructure.

[45] Assmann 2006, 213. For Ptolemy's efforts at such legitimations see Huß 1992; 1997; Höbl 1997.

[46] Gorre 2017 and this volume.

disastrous ways. Consequently, the interaction between Ptolemy and the priests was asymmetrical, with Ptolemy holding the power – the Ptolemies could and often did intervene in temple administrative organization and personnel.[47] Yet, it was in the priests' interest to present themselves as potential partners in the establishment of the Ptolemies' royal legitimacy over Egypt. Hence, the text of the Satrap Stele, which takes pains to thank Ptolemy for his donation of land and also to assist him in his legitimation as pharaoh by chronicling his "doing of Ma'at" in successfully vanquishing Isfet (i.e., the invasion of the "usurper" Antigonos Monopthalmos).

We also see the priests at Buto introduce Ptolemy on the Satrap Stele with traditional pharaonic descriptors,[48] following the examples set by earlier priests who legitimated Ptolemy's foreign predecessors that still littered many temple precincts throughout Egypt:

> He is a youthful man, strong in his two arms, effective in plans, with mighty armies, stout hearted, firm footed, who attacks the powerful without turning his back, who strikes the face of his opponents when they fight, with precise hand, who grasps to himself the bow without shooting astray, who fights with his sword in the midst of battle, with none who can stand in his vicinity, a champion whose arms are not repulsed, with no reversal of what issues from his mouth, who has no equal in the Two Lands or the foreign countries (trans. Simpson *et al.* 2003, 393).[49]

After this traditional introduction, the priests praise Ptolemy for his restoration of the temples that had been plundered by the enemies of Egypt. "He [Ptolemy] brought back the images of the gods found in Asia, and all the furniture and all the sacred scrolls of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt. And he restored them to their place." Schäfer (2009, 143) sees this section as a conscious gesture by the Egyptian priests of Buto that they support Ptolemy's kingship. Clearly it worked, since this same formula was followed by future Ptolemaic kings.[50]

Next, after reporting Ptolemy's successes in Asia against Antigonos, the Satrap Stele inscribes a "history" of an earlier Egyptian king who had also vanquished Isfet and donated to the shrine at Buto. Here, Ptolemy is being legitimated by comparison to previous successful kings through the now ancient genre of royal historical fiction.[51] Ptolemy, just like his predecessor the pious native king Khababash, "walked in the path

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[47] Here I follow Clarysse 2000, 50–1, 59; Gorre 2017 and this volume that the Ptolemies held the power in these relationships, *contra* Moyer 2011b, 116 n. 7, 121. As Gorre, this volume n. 73 observes, "Ptolemy had no interest in letting or encouraging the priesthood to organize themselves as a political body. Indeed, the Ptolemies as pharaohs who summoned the priests, had as much power over their own delegates in the temples as a basileus had over the citizens of a city of his kingdom."

[48] Schäfer 2011, 66–74.

[49] This rhetoric seems to be echoed in Ptolemy fragment 18 (= Arr. *Anab.* 4.24.1–25.4), where Ptolemy stands alone and fights an Indian "king" in single combat. See Howe 2018b for analysis.

[50] Ptolemy II will use it on the Pithom Stele in much the same way. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* II 91.6–94.2; Thiers 2007, 100–106. See Winnicki 1994, 149, n. 1 for the older literature on the Satrap Stele and Ptolemaic efforts at legitimation

[51] *Königsnovelle*: Hoffman 2005; Spallinger 2011.

of Horus" and put down the rebellion of his impious adversary,[52] who did not honor the gods and caused disharmony in the Two Lands. While little of the Khababash story as presented in the Satrap Stele is accurate by modern standards,[53] it does much to legitimate Ptolemy as an Egyptian ruler while at the same time blending Greek and Egyptian motifs in a new and powerful manner: Ptolemy restores Ma'at, while Antigonos is compared to a traditional Greek adversary – Xerxes (or Artaxerxes).[54] These Greek topoi about Persians had been well established by the late 300s by the works of Aischylos (*Persians*), Herodotos (*Historia),* Ctesias (*Persica*), Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*) and even the Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Waters and Places*.[55] And yet, the Satrap Stele does not simply advocate general hatred of Persian rule, as has often been argued.[56] Rather, it offers a window into the ways in which Ptolemaic propaganda is receiving both Egyptian and Greek historiographies, a topic that I will return to in the next section.[57]

Indeed, the content expressed in the Satrap Stele seems to have had a wide effect on later Greek and Egyptian historiography. On the Greek side, Diodorus' first century BCE account of the Second Persian Period in Egypt echoes the language of the Satrap Stele to such a degree that, as Colburn argued, it is "impossible to distinguish the influences of Ptolemaic ideology from actual memories of Achaemenid rule in the Greek historical tradition."[58] On the Egyptian side, the contemporary Demotic Chronicle,[59] a priestly text written by, or on behalf of, the High Priest of Harsaphes from the Delta town of Herakleopolis,[60] seems to praise Ptolemy I for his proper understanding of Egyptian tradition, especially kingly behavior, and predicts that because of his pious acts towards Egypt he will pass his sovereignty on to his descendants.[61] While the Demotic Chronicle seems to credit Ptolemy with restoring Egypt to harmony and order – high praise indeed for any Egyptian king, let alone a foreigner[62] – it also shows some priestly

[52] In Khababash's case this was Ḫšryš (variously read as Xerxes or Artaxerxes). For Ḫšryš as Xerxes see Ladynin 2005, 98, n. 34; cf. Klingott 2007; Schäfer 2009; Lloyd 2010, 84; Colburn 2015, 175. For Artaxerxes see Spiegelberg 1907, 5–6; Schäfer 2009. Briant 2002, 1044 argues that Xerxes is a generic term for Persian kings. Ladynin 2005, 101 agrees and argues, convincingly, that Artaxerxes III is the real subject. Though given Ptolemy's efforts to highlight his own capture of Bessos, Artaxerxes V, it is possible that Bessos is the intended Artaxerxes here.
[53] For the historicity of Khababash and the literary figure reported by the Satrap Stele see Huß 1994a; Burstein 2000.
[54] The choice of Xerxes or Artaxerxes is no accident: Ladynin 2005, 103. As Colburn 2015, 177 notes "it does fit Ḫšryš's role as a destructive, evil force in the stela's inscription, especially if it stems from a Greek tradition that remembered Xerxes as an invader and the destroyer of Athens." Ptolemy also seems to be using these traditions to cast aspersions on Antigonos.
[55] Llewellyn-Jones 2012. For Greek proto-orientalist prejudices see Isaac 2004, 257–303.
[56] See Colburn 2015.
[57] The text also seems to be warning the audiences that they should understand the difference between a legitimate king, such the native Khababash and the now "naturalized" Ptolemy, and usurpers like the "adversaries" Xerxes and Antigonos: Schäfer 2009, 148–9.
[58] Colburn 2015, 168.
[59] Johnson 1974; 1983; Johnson and Ritner 1990; Kügler 1994; Felber 2002; Quack 2015; 2016a; 2016b.
[60] Johnson 1983, 64–5; Quack 2015; 2016a; cf. Kügler 1994.
[61] Felber 2002, 108–9, argues that the text must refer to Ptolemy I. Johnson 1974; 1983; Gozzoli 2009, 130–32, 283–90; Quack 2015; 2016a are more cautious.
[62] The *Prophesy of the Lamb*, a demotic prophesy created under Ptolemy's reign also praises Alexander (and by

teeth, proclaiming that a king can only be considered legitimate if he has undergone the proper coronation rituals and possesses the proper emblems of office. Again and again, as if underscoring its significance by repetition, the Demotic Chronicle asserts that a ruler can only be considered legitimate if he is crowned, if he is equated with the falcon (the god Horus), and if he rules according to Ma'at. The threat here is that if the king does not "walk in the path of Horus" or "do" Ma'at he will be overthrown and for this reason will not pass his kingship on to future descendants.[63] In short, the Demotic Chronicle suggests that the Egyptian priests were pleased that the Greco-Macedonian kings were participating in traditional symbolic and ritualized contexts.[64] In the end, the fact that Alexander, Ptolemy I and their successors did so, even though they held the power, suggests that "doing Ma'at" was a voluntary and integral part of Greco-Macedonian conceptions of kingship.

Another opportunity to see an Egyptian reception of Ptolemy's blended Greek and Egyptian historiographic themes may be found in the demotic Bentresh Stele (*Stele Louvre* C 214),[65] which records a fictional account of the New Kingdom monarch Ramesses II's marriage to a Baktrian princess appropriately named (Ma'at) Neferure ((Truth) is Good/Beautiful)[66] – note that Ptolemy had also married a Baktrian "princess."[67] In the story, relations between the king and the province of Baktria are initially good, but when Neferure's sister Bentresh falls ill, having been possessed by an evil spirit, things come undone. In an attempt to please his new wife, Ramesses sends a royal scribe to cure Bentresh. Unfortunately, the scribe is unsuccessful and so Ramesses himself must take on the task to restore harmony and health to his realm. After much consultation with oracles and priests, Ramesses learns that he must send a divine image of a god called "Chons-who-Exercises-Authority" from his own collection to Bactria. In a sense this Chons statue serves as an avatar for the king's authority and power (much like Ptolemy did for Alexander when he captured Bessos, the regicide

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extension Ptolemy I) for restoring order to Egypt after the Persian occupation. Bresciani 1999; Thissen 2002; Chauveau and Thiers 2006; Chauveau 2017. A key phrase when considering how Ptolemy (and his history) is later remembered is "falsehood will perish; order and truth will appear in Egypt." See Ladynin 2017, 94–112 for further analysis.

63 Johnson 1983, 66, 68.

64 At least one of these contexts seems to be within the Horus cult invoked by both the Demotic Chronicle and Ptolemy's Satrap Stele. Since the New Kingdom, the Horus cult at Edfu had played an important role in royal legitimation: Fairman 1974, 1–14; Clarysse 2000; Manning 2003. In Edfu's temple precincts, which were subsequently rebuilt and extended under Ptolemy III, the later Ptolemies reenacted the creation of the world from chaos, the triumph over the Adversary, and most importantly, the restoration of truth and order (Ma'at); Manning 2003, 70.

65 The Bentresh story has received much attention and while its interpretation is far from clear, the consensus holds that it was written by a Theban priest to promote Egyptian (Ptolemaic) royal accomplishments in Baktria as well as the international importance of the local cult of Chons-who-Exercises-Authority. Ryholt 2013, esp. 66, n. 28; cf. Morschauser 1988. For a translation of the Stele see Simpson *et al.* 2003, 361–6.

66 Ma'atneferure was Ramesses II's Hittite wife and the Neferure mentioned here is certainly meant to recall this earlier foreign queen: Morschauser 1988.

67 In the mass marriages at Susa, Ptolemy himself married Artakama, the daughter of Artabazos, whose last position was satrap of Bactria, making Artakama a Bactrian princess (Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.4). See Müller 2013a, 204–6, and Ager, this volume, who argue that Artakama lived out her life in Egypt.

and usurper; see Ptolemy F 14 = Arr. *Anab.* 3.29.6–30.5).[68] Ramesses sends the statue and Bentresh recovers, but the prince of Baktria refuses to return the image of Chons to Egypt. In fact, he usurps Ramesses' royal authority, represented metaphorically by the healing image, and stages a rebellion against his rightful king. The rebellion lasts for three years and nine months (3 and 3 times 3 is an ominous mathematical factor in Egyptian lore) but then the Egyptian king personally hunts the Baktrian prince down and brings him to justice. Once Ramesses has captured the prince and ended the rebellion health and prosperity return to Egypt and Baktria.

Truthtelling and "kingly" behavior in Ptolemy's history

Exposure to, and experimentation with, Egyptian literary topoi allowed Ptolemy and his successors to create a new philosophy for Greek kingship – it is shameful for a king to lie.[69] We can see this clearly echoed in the testimonia (*BNJ* 138 T 1) and fragments (*BNJ* 138 F 11, 18, 35)[70] from Ptolemy's history of Alexander's campaigns and later Greek-language Ptolemaic texts, such as the *Letter of Aristeas*. In the proem of the *Anabasis*, for example, Arrian clearly states that he will use Ptolemy and Aristoboulos as his principal sources because both men accompanied Alexander on his campaign[71] and because Ptolemy, as king, would find it shameful to lie:

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[68] *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period* 1.3–6 lists Bessos as Artaxerxes V; see Howe 2015b for analysis and bibliography concerning Bessos' legitimacy. For an analysis of Ptolemy's historiographic agenda in this fragment see Howe forthcoming.

[69] See Murray 1967, 337–71, esp. 352, 357; 2007; and Bosworth, forthcoming, commentary on *Anabasis* 7.5, for discussion of the new Ptolemaic articulation of royal identity. I am grateful to Liz Baynham and Pat Wheatley for sharing with me the late Prof. Bosworth's manuscript notes from his unfinished commentary on the final books of Arrian's *Anabasis*.

[70] In F 18 after Ptolemy defeats an Indian commander in single combat, Alexander sends him out on a scouting mission and although Ptolemy correctly estimates the size of the enemy camp, Alexander does not trust his assessment. After difficult fighting the Macedonians are victorious, but Alexander's incorrect assessment of the enemy numbers serves to highlight both Ptolemy's military insight and his victory over a superior force despite Alexander distrust. In the end, Ptolemy shows Alexander is wrong not only in his assessment of the enemy but also his assessment of Ptolemy. Ptolemy told the truth and Alexander did not trust him and paid the penalty. And yet, Alexander is Alexander and so can recover from any shame such distrust might bring. I find it interesting that from here on Alexander always trusts Ptolemy by giving him important roles. He also allows Ptolemy to make his own command decisions such as at the Battle of Sangala (F 35) against the forces allied with "Bad" King Poros. Curiously, Bad Poros is only a "bad" king because he has lied to Alexander: he had originally agreed to fight for Alexander against his cousin, the famous Poros of the Battle at the Hydaspes, but then broke his word and organized a resistance to the Macedonians. In the end, both of these fragments seem to contain the same philosophy we see expressed in Alexander's speech in Arrian Anabasis 7.5.2: kings and subjects should trust each other. See Howe 2018b commentary on F 35 for further analysis.

[71] While Ptolemy and Aristoboulos were not the only Alexander historians to join the king on campaign, their positions gave them access to aspects of the campaign (i.e., logistics/command and engineering, respectively) that others might not have been privy to: Pownall, 2013, commentary on T 6. The Ptolemy fragments seem to support to *opinio communis* that Arrian follows Ptolemy for military matters (e.g. *BNJ* 138 F 3, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 26b, 29, 30, 34; Howe 2018b and Heckel, this volume) and Aristoboulos to add context to ethnographic subjects (e.g. Pownall 2013). For discussions of Arrian's treatment of Ptolemy and Aristoboulos as sources see Wirth 1959, 2467–84; Bosworth 1980, 16–34; Bosworth 1988, 13; Worthington 2016, 214–7; Gilhaus 2017, 232–5; Pownall 2013, commentary on T 6; and Howe 2018b.

> In my opinion, Ptolemy and Aristoboulos are more trustworthy in their narrative, in the case of Aristoboulos because he campaigned with King Alexander and in the case of Ptolemy because he not only campaigned with Alexander, but also was a king himself and would have found it more shameful than anyone else to lie.

Unfortunately, Arrian's simple declaration about sources has confounded generations of scholars, largely because they have read it as a statement of method by Arrian – one should accept the word of kings because they are inherently accurate, kings being kept from lying by shame. Such a method of "accept the word of kings as truth" undercuts Arrian's value as a source, for it suggests he has a simplistic and uncritical approach to evidence. Such naiveté is especially troublesome from an author like Arrian who otherwise provides great detail and insight into Alexander's political and military strategies.[72] But what if we view Arrian's statement about "kingly truth" not as statement of method (i.e., how to weigh sources), but rather a statement of policy made by Arrian's principal source, Ptolemy? As discussed above, Ptolemaic rule centered round the Egyptian concept of "speaking/doing Ma'at" (***ḏd/jr (j) M3ʿ.***t). For the sake of argument, let us view Arrian's comment as a Greek-language reception of the public elements of Ptolemaic kingship: a king should speak the Truth and oppose the Lie; to do otherwise is to fail as a king and in so doing bring shame on one's name and dynasty. This is certainly the Demotic Chronicle's view of royalty in this period.

On the most basic level, Arrian and other historians could have received this Egyptian perspective of Ptolemy's role as king from local, Alexandrine traditions. As we have seen, Ptolemy certainly allowed Ma'at to figure prominently in the inscriptions and reliefs he erected (or allowed to be erected) for Philip Arrhidaios, Alexander IV and himself.[73] And while Ptolemy I himself does not use Ma'at in his titles, his Two Ladies Name—signifying the union of the two lands (ladies) of Egypt – claims that he brought himself to the throne in order to rule and defend Tjaru ("He who has seized with (his own) power the holder of Tjaru [Pelusium]" ***iṯ-m-sḫm ḥḳ3-ṯl***),[74] the important border town near Pelusium that guards the military road into Egypt called the "Way of Horus."[75] His later descendants continue the earlier Kushite and Saite trend of celebrating their defense of the two lands with the earlier formula "doer of Ma'at (***jr (j) M3ʿ.t***)" in their "Throne" Names,[76] suggesting that under Ptolemy, who

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[72] E.g. Tarn 1948, II.16–43; Wirth 1959, 2468–9; Pearson 1960, 193; Welles 1963; Badian 1964, 258; Errington 1969, 241–2; Seibert 1969, 1–26; Stadter 1980, 67–76; Bosworth 1980, 43. Cf. Worthington 2016, 213–4, 17 who does not see this statement as damaging to Arrian's credibility but rather the opposite, arguing that Ptolemy had no need to write about Alexander for propagandistic reasons since he was writing at the end of his reign when he was firmly and unquestionably in control of Egypt.

[73] Arrhidaios in particular is called "lover or beloved of Ma'at (***Mr (j)-M3ʿ.t***)"; Blöbaum 2006, 228.

[74] von Beckerath 1999, 234–235. While this could refer to Ptolemy's ouster of Kleomenes – Alexander's satrap of Egypt – at the beginning of his reign, I think the aftermath of Demetrios' failed invasion of Egypt at Pelusium in autumn 306 is a better context for Ptolemy taking up this royal title; cf. Lephrohon 2013, 178. For analysis of Demetrios' campaign see Wheatley 2014. See Lephrohon 2013, 7–20 (esp. 13–15) for a recent discussion of the five royal names of the pharaoh and their significance.

[75] See Al-Ayedi 2006, 26–79 for inscriptions praising Egyptian kings for protecting the Way of Horus.

[76] "Doer of Ma'at," as throne name for Ptolemy VI (Philae, Temple K Stela; Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und*

slowly accreted power (and titles) as he transitioned from the office of satrap to that of pharaoh, we see a system that was in flux and constantly adapting. Indeed, Ladynin 2017, 81–92 argues that Ptolemy I's epithet, Soter, was Egyptian in origin and derived from Ptolemy's pharaonic efforts to save Egypt from Isfet. Thus he was called "savior" (***ndty***) in the Egyptian texts. While this is an innovative reading, it does not yet offer a convincing explanation for the seemingly independent Greek uses of Soter – collected and analyzed in Caneva, forthcoming. In any event, texts naming Ptolemy as ***ndty*** are difficult to date and their rarity suggests that the title was exceedingly uncommon under Ptolemy I and only under his son and successor, Ptolemy II, did ***ndty*** "Soter" really become upgraded to an epithet as part of the Ptolemaic "Cult of the Founder." Under Ptolemy II, Egyptian texts also rendered Soter with the transliteration ***Swṱr***, suggesting that even if we accept Ladynin's Egyptian interpretation of Ptolemy's title, we must at the same time acknowledge that the Graeco-Egyptian encounter was double-sided, with the Egyptian elite also trying to find a suitable way to incorporate a Greek concept of *soteria* in their native language.[77] Interestingly, Ptolemy IX "Soter"[78] seems to have used the throne name "speaker of Ma'at,"[79] as an homage to the dynasty's founder Ptolemy I Soter.

The historiographic confusion over the founder's epithet "Soter" offers a useful analogy for how Ma'at could have entered the later literary tradition and influenced writers like Arrian and Synesios. We know that the Hellenistic and Roman literary sources made much of Ptolemy I's epithet, Soter, creating two Greek-centered etiologies, one involving Ptolemy's saving Alexander during the siege of the Mallian town in India in July 326 BCE and another involving Ptolemy's support to the Rhodians during Demetrios' siege of 305 BCE.[80] My point here is that by the time of Arrian, even though later Greek historiographers were not "sure" precisely why Ptolemy was called Soter, they nonetheless all agreed that he held that name.[81] The issue was the origin, not

Äthiopien (1849), IV, 27b2); Ptolemy VIII (Edfu small temple, Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (1849), IV, 37c); Ptolemy XII (Philae, Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (1849), IV, 49b);

[77] See Caneva forthcoming.

[78] See Ritner 2007 for a discussion of the source of Ptolemy IX's epithets. While not speaking directly about the correlations between the two "Soters," Hazzard 1992, 53–4, suggests that Pausanias, who was writing around the same time as Arrian, has a confused understanding of the Ptolemies' titles. Consequently, it is certainly possible that by the second century CE, the traditions about the Ptolemies and their claims about Ma'at could have evolved significantly.

[79] Ptolemy IX: M. Rochemonteix & E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* V, 5.

[80] See Howe 2018b, commentary on fragment 26a for bibliography. See Hazzard 1992; Wheatley and Dunn 2019, Chapter 12 for the siege of Rhodes.

[81] Arrian's comments on the subject are illuminating: "Some have it that Alexander was struck on the helmet with a club and that he fell into a daze but that he then stood up again and was hit in the chest by a missile that pierced his breastplate. But in my opinion the most serious error of the Alexander historians is as follows. Some have written that Ptolemy son of Lagos climbed the ladder with Alexander, along with Peukestas. They say that Ptolemy held his shield over the king when he fell and was for that reason given the name Ptolemy the Savior. But Ptolemy himself has written that he was not present at this event, for he was fighting in other battles against other barbarians at the head of his own army. This I needed to write, as a digression, so that later men might take some care in telling of such great triumphs and tragedies (*Anab.* 6.11.7–8)."

the adoption. The same dynamic *could* be at work for the tradition linking Ptolemy to truthtelling, but I think it is unlikely. The embedded reciprocal relationship between kinship and shame that we see in the testimonia and fragments of Ptolemy's History suggest that it derives from something more than a confused etiology evolved from royal titles and as such, warrants a more contextual explanation. Indeed, this "shame" resembles the fear earlier Egyptian kings such as Psammetichos I express over not being able to maintain Ma'at. In the testimonia from Arrian, we see a similar fear – a king lies and feels shame at the deceit. With this in mind, Alexander's speech in *Anabasis* 7.5, becomes germane:

> "For a king," [Alexander] said, "in his relations with his subjects must speak nothing other than the truth, nor should anyone under his rule suppose that the king speaks anything other than the truth" (7.5.2).

The late Brian Bosworth observed that the relationships outlined here by Alexander inherently sets up a reciprocity between ruler and ruled:

> the king must be invariably truthful and his subjects must believe that he is. At Susa the troops are delinquent in their duty, and Alexander gives them an exemplary demonstration of royal veracity. The terminology strongly recalls the proem, where Arrian states that lying is more disgraceful for a king than for any one else.[82]

Bosworth argued that this reciprocity is deeply meaningful and part of a dynamic system of negotiated power – the king must be truthful and the subjects must trust that he is truthful, if not the king cannot rule.[83] The Egyptian pharaoh operates under a similar reciprocity: the pharaoh "does/speaks Ma'at" – he remains truthful and preserves the balance so that chaos is kept at bay – and the people of Egypt trust, serve and worship the king with the result that the Two Lands of Egypt prosper. If for any reason Egypt does not prosper, then the only explanation is that the king has failed, has been "untruthful." Such failure brings on great shame and political instability.[84] This failure to do Ma'at, failure to protect Egypt from the Lie, is what Psammetichos and other Late Period Egyptian proclaimed they feared.

If this reciprocity between truth and shame were only articulated here, in Arrian's "Alexander" speech about the discharging of the army's debts, which we should note he does not attribute directly to Ptolemy,[85] then we might be inclined to dismiss it

[82] Bosworth (forthcoming) commentary on Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.5.
[83] The monarchies of Alexander and Philip II were also grounded reciprocities – the *hetairoi* must be able to speak to their king about any concerns and trust him to act responsibly upon such advice. Thus, Alexander's veterans would have been particularly receptive to reciprocal models of legitimacy such as those Ptolemy was forging out of Argead and Egyptian traditions.
[84] Assmann 2006, 212 and *passim*.
[85] The verb used in Alexander's speech in 7.5.3, ἀληθεύειν, is unique to that section and used nowhere else in Arrian, suggesting that he is closely following a source. The noun in the dative, used adverbially in a wholly different context to mean "in fact," seems common to Arrian's own style, e.g. *Anab.* 1.25.3; *Cyn.* 16.4.4. Likewise, the infinitive ψεύσασθαι, "to lie" never comes up again in the *Anabasis*. The verb in other forms is used twice in Arrian's works, also only in the *Anabasis*, once when Arrian is using his main sources to repudiate the

as Arrian's own rhetoric. But, as Bosworth observed, this speech by Alexander is strikingly similar to Ptolemy II's speech to the Jewish rabbis, when he met with them to talk about issues of tradition, religion, and philosophy:

> all men incur great shame through lying, but far more do kings; for, given that they have the power to do what they wish, what reason would they have for lying? (*Letter of Aristeas* 206).

As Murray and others have shown, this *Letter of Aristeas*, even though offering a particularly Egyptian Jewish perspective, nonetheless preserves important concepts of Ptolemaic royal charisma that are echoed throughout the dynasty: lying brings shame to kings.[86]

With this in mind we should return to the proem of the *Anabasis*: "[Ptolemy] was a king himself and would have found it more shameful than anyone else to lie." Shamefulness (αἰσχρός) is a rare adjective in Arrian's works, used exclusively in connection with royal acts of deceit. The word appears only twice in the *Anabasis* outside of the proem, in 2.26.3, when Arrian is analyzing the siege of Gaza, and in 3.10.2 when he discusses the preparations before the battle of Gaugamela. In both passages, Arrian has Alexander refuse to engage in a deceitful trick that would guarantee him victory: in 2.26.3 Alexander claims that deception will make him appear "a dishonorable man to the Greeks and Darius," and in 3.10.2, Alexander upbraids Parmenion for suggesting the Macedonians attack at night when the Persians were unprepared because such an act would be deceitful and, as a result, bring shame upon him and the army.

The close philosophical connections between kingship and deceit offered by Arrian and the *Letter of Aristeas*, suggest that we take Synesios' comment in his work *In Praise of Baldness* about Ptolemy's royal truthfulness more seriously:

> These men [the Macedonians] before the battle of Arbela … made all of the people shave… Now the reason for the prejudice against hair was the following… (4) as Ptolemy son of Lagos related in his history, for he was present at these events and not only knew what happened but did also did not lie, because he was king at the time when he wrote his history. (1) A Macedonian man with unusually long hair and a thick drooping beard was attacking a Persian, but the Persian, although in danger, had the excellent judgment to drop his shield … and spear … and charge him…, and suddenly contriving to slip under his enemy's shield, he seizes him by the beard and hair and by this means throws the soldier, who had not struck a blow… and once fallen he slays him with his drawn sword. [2] Some other Persian also saw this, and another and another, and soon they were all throwing away their shields, and in full pursuit of the enemy through the plain, where one would catch

evidence of others about fabulous stories about India (5.4.3) and significantly in 6.11.2 (= Ptolemy *BNJ* 138 F 26a), when discussing how other sources (not Ptolemy!) have lied about Alexander's wounds during the Mallian campaign (Howe 2018b commentary on F 26a). Thus, all three uses of this verb seem to tie back to Ptolemy and his concerns over lies.

86 Murray 1967, 337–71, esp. 352, 357 and 2007. Cf. Brunt 1974, 8–10, esp. n. 51.

> one man by his hair, and another, another.... (3) In the meantime the king was in a desperate situation … so he orders the trumpets to sound the retreat, and when he has led his army as far away as possible, and has placed it in a good position, he lets loose the barbers upon it… (4) As to Darius and the Persians, the campaign no longer proceeded as they had hoped, for since there was no longer anything to hold on to, they were condemned to struggle in armor against much superior adversaries (Synesios, *Enc. calv*. 15–16 = *BNJ* 138 F 11).

This story, part of a work that seems to have been inspired by (or perhaps created as a light-hearted response to) Dio Chrysostom's *In Praise of Hair,* certainly strains the reader's credibility – it seems ridiculous to give soldiers a haircut in the midst of a battle. And yet it is not unique to Synesios. Plutarch, *Theseus* 5.4 also seems to know it, though he does not attribute the story to Ptolemy:

> and Alexander of Macedon doubtless understood this [i.e. not giving enemies a handhold in one's hair] when, as they say, he ordered his generals to have the beards of their Macedonians shaved, since these afforded the readiest hold in battle.

The fact that Plutarch also connects Alexander with cutting hair prompts us not to reject Synesios' evidence, as Pearson 1960, 189–90 does, because it strays well beyond the realm of sober military reporting.[87] While Synesios may have garbled the story – head-hair instead of beards – or received it and the concept of Ptolemy's truthfulness from an intermediary (Pearson suggests Arrian), other than an *a priori* argument that Ptolemy's history must be concerned solely with tactics, strategy and military movements (which this anecdote, incredible though it is, undoubtedly contains!), there is no compelling reason to dismiss Synesios' attribution of truthtelling to Ptolemy summarily. More to the point, there are many compelling reasons to *retain* Synesios' attribution: Synesios was resident in Alexandria both as a student and later, as a scholar, and it is likely that he would have had access to Ptolemy's original work;[88] he certainly would be familiar with Alexandrian scholarly/philosophical traditions about Ptolemy and Ptolemaic conceptions of royalty current in his own time. That is, if Ptolemaic tradition had linked the founder of the dynasty with their royal policy of truthtelling, then Synesios would have been in a good position to receive this and pass it on.

Ptolemy's history: Context and dating

As all of the commentators have observed, the fragments of Ptolemy's Greek-language historiography offer an *apologia* for Alexander and a justification for Ptolemy to be a "second Alexander."[89] As I have suggested above, Egyptian dualisms like truth/

[87] See Gorteman 1958 for an alternative reading to Pearson. Cf. Worthington 2016, 214–5.

[88] For Synesios' career see Bregman 1982; Barnes 1986; Dimitrov 2008, 149–70; de Francisco Heredero 2014, 163–90.

[89] All modern commentators agree that Ptolemy wrote an apologetic text, stressing his special role as Alexander's close confidant and right-hand. E.g. Kornemann 1935, 179; Wirth 1959, 2469–75; Welles 1963; Badian 1964, 256–8; Seibert 1969, *passim*, esp. 176–89; Errington 1969; Goukowski 1978, 141–5; Rosen 1979, 462–72; Bosworth 1980, 22–7; 1996, 41–53; Roisman 1984; Schepens 1998, 91; Huß 2001, 90–95; Caroli 2007,

lie, order/chaos, succession/usurpation and loyalty/rebellion influenced Ptolemy's kingship. Indeed, the genre of writing a "history" of the military and diplomatic accomplishments of a royal predecessor (what Egyptologists have called *königsnovelle*), is Egyptian in origin and figures prominently in the longest Egyptian-language text from Ptolemy I's reign, the Satrap Stele. And yet it is important to note that Ptolemy wrote his history of Alexander's Persian campaign for a Greek audience. In much the same way, as the *Liber de Morte*, the famous "Will" of Alexander,[90] the Greek-language history of Alexander was meant to remind the Greeks of Alexander and his chosen successor Ptolemy's strengths as leaders.[91] To remind them of the prosperity and optimism Greeks experienced when Alexander defeated the Persians and avenged the Greeks (themes also raised in the Satrap Stele). And, above all, to remind them of the reciprocal relationships they had enjoyed with Alexander and his father Philip. Indeed, the Ptolemaic philosophy of charismatic kingship – lying brings shame to a king because it dishonors his subjects' trust – simply builds on the *parrhesia* that previous "friends" of Alexander and Philip had enjoyed.[92] But stressing Alexander's respect for his subjects and the value of his conquests (and Ptolemy's role in them) would only have been effective as propaganda for a Greek audience at a time when Ptolemy was actually aiming to restore Alexander's legacy and rebuild trust-based reciprocities. Consequently, the history's "publication" date must be located at a time when Ptolemy needed to make this case to the Greeks and Macedonians outside of Egypt.

For much of the twentieth century, scholars argued that Ptolemy would have needed to make such a case only at the end of his life, around or before 282 BCE.[93] At that time, so the argument goes, Ptolemy was concerned about his legacy and wished to correct other historians and set the record straight about what he and Alexander were able to achieve. Then, starting with Ernst Badian's 1964 revisionist study, there was a shift in perspective: Ptolemy would have needed to make such claims at the beginning of his rule, not the end.[94] Recently, however, the pendulum has swung back, revisiting the notion that even though the propaganda in the history would benefit Ptolemy at any time in his wars with his rivals, it should be seen as a summative work, written when the king had the time and distance to put into words his lifetime reflection on war and its consequences. Ian Worthington 2016, 217–8, for

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201–7; Muckensturm-Poulle 2009; Bearzot 2011, 60; Meeus 2014, 305; Howe 2015a; 2016; Pownall (forthcoming); Heckel, this volume.

[90] Bosworth 2000; Meeus 2014, 289–93. See Ravazzolo 2012 for a critical commentary on the text.

[91] Promoting Ptolemy: Bosworth 1996, 46; Müller 2013b; Howe 2008; 2015a; 2016; 2018b, especially commentary on F 14, 18, 26a, 34 and 35; cf. Worthington 2016, 53–6. Downplaying the role of Perdikkas and other Successors: Errington 1969, 236–40; Bosworth 1980, 26, 80–1, 311–121; 2000, 226; Müller 2013b; Howe 2018b; cf. Roisman 1984.

[92] For Macedonian traditions of *parrhesia* see Carney 2007, 173; Sawada 2010, 396.

[93] Kornemann 1935, 7–15; Tarn 1948, II.43; Pearson 1960, 193; Heckel, this volume; cf. Wirth 1959, 2468–9; Seibert 1969, 26.

[94] Badian 1964, 258; 1971, 40; Errington 1969, 241–2; Stadter 1980, 68; Bosworth 1980, 23; Meeus 2008, 46 n. 30; cf. Meeus 2014, 305 n. 157. I agree with Meeus that there is little need for Ptolemy to write an historical work that legitimates him as Alexander's successor at the end of his life, when he has, indeed, succeeded Alexander and is no longer claiming Alexander's empire.

example, argues that Ptolemy was simply too busy fighting most of his life to write history: "This is surely too short a time frame – 310 to 308 BCE – to write a history of this sort, especially as he [Ptolemy] was on active campaign overseas in each of these years." And yet, other military men, such as C. Julius Caesar, wrote histories while on campaign.[95] Zambrini 2007, 217 and Bearzot 2011, 60, offer more nuanced arguments for accepting the traditional dating scheme, suggesting we move with caution when shifting the History to a time before Ptolemy had formally claimed the kingship because doing so runs the risk of contradicting Arrian's claim in the proem that Ptolemy was king.[96]

But Arrian's implied linkage between kingship and publication need not consign the authorship of Ptolemy's history to the final years of his life. Again, Egyptian evidence can assist us here. As early as 311 BCE the Satrap Stele calls Ptolemy "ruler" (***wr***) – the same title used in the New Kingdom *Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre* and Piankhy's victory Stelae for the "king" of the Delta regions[97] – and ***ḥm=f***, "His Majesty." Ockinga 2018 argues that these titles are clear evidence that Ptolemy has formally taken up Egyptian royal powers and is *de facto,* if not *de iure,* king.[98] If Ockinga is correct, then this Egyptian context may inform Diod. 20.27.1 where Ptolemy is called "king of Egypt" when invading Kilikia, Pamphylia and Lykia in 309 BCE.[99]

If we accept that the titles used in the Satrap Stele – "Ruler of Egypt" and "His Majesty" – were enough for Ptolemy I's Greek associates at the time to refer to him (informally as Bosworth 2000, 233 put it) as "king," then we can push back the *terminus ante quem* of authorship to 311 BCE and still preserve any information embedded in Arrian's testimony (as Zambrini 2007 and Bearzot 2011 argue we should). This is a significant gain, for as Catharine Lorber's numismatic map of Ptolemy's propaganda in this volume shows, Ptolemy changed his coinage motifs from 314–306 BCE to specifically target a Greek audience. Moreover, 311 BCE is a watershed date in Successor relations. In this year Ptolemy, Kassandros, Lysimachos, Antigonos Monopthalmos and Seleukos agreed to a general Peace and agreed to support the "freedom of the Greeks."[100] In addition to his coinage, now retooled for export trade and messaged to appeal to Greek themes, Ptolemy ramped up his rhetoric about Greek

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[95] Unlike Caesar, who was actively fighting while he wrote, Ptolemy spent 309–308 BCE engaged in diplomacy. For a recent survey of the literature on Caesar's composition of the *Comentarii* see Grillo and Krebs 2018, 4. For Ptolemy's diplomacy during the period of 309–8 BCE see Bearzot 1992, 39–40; Bosworth 2000; Bearzot and Landucci Gattinoni 2002, 46–7; Wheatley and Dunn 2019, Chapter 8.

[96] For this reason Pédech 1984, 234–7, argues for the period between the assumption of the regal title by Seleukos and Lysimachos, i.e. some time during 306 BCE.

[97] *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* III, 12.1 and 43.2.

[98] See also Cauville 2017. Bosworth 2000, 229–38, argues that Ptolemy was using the title informally as early as 309.

[99] Bosworth 2000, 229–38 argued that Ptolemy had been using the title of king informally since 309 BCE and that is why decrees from Iasos (Blümel 1985, no 2, ll. 7–8, 15) and Aspendos (*SEG* 17.639) address Ptolemy as "king." Cf. Wheatley 2001b, 13–4 and Hauben 2014, 246, who downdate these texts to 306 BCE, when Ptolemy formally took up the diadem. Diod. 18.21.9 names Ptolemy "king" as early as 322/1 BCE.

[100] See Wheatley 2015 and Wheatley and Dunn 2019, Chapter 7.

autonomia.[101] In addition, 311 also saw heavy construction in Alexandria by Ptolemy I, his first public works project that looked outward towards the Mediterranean rather than inwards towards Egypt.[102] Thus, all of the evidence suggests that Ptolemy was preparing to make a play for Greece.

In the next year (310 BCE), while Ptolemy campaigns Asia Minor on behalf of Greek freedom, Kassandros kills off Alexander IV, removing the last obstacle to the Successors claiming Alexander the Great's throne. Around the same time, Hauben 2014, 249, following *Suda* (*s.v.* Δημήτριος), argues that Demetrios and Ptolemy entered into a "non-interference" pact whereby each agreed not to hinder the other in freeing the Greeks from Kassandros.[103] In this context, I think the rhetoric of Fragment 14, where Ptolemy brings the king-killer and usurper Bessos to justice, might fit. At least I think it likely that Ptolemy began working with this bit of propaganda that he had used earlier in Egypt (see above discussion of the Bentresh Stele) and incorporating it into his history. Surely, casting himself as Alexander's avenger against the regicide Bessos would serve to warn anyone away from Kassandros, the murderer of Alexander IV and usurper of the Argead throne. Kassandros might also be a target for the rhetoric about kings not lying. He had sworn loyalty to Alexander IV, but then killed him; he had sworn to protect Greek freedom, but was now against the rebuilding of Thebes.[104] In any event, it seems that Worthington's observation that the period 310–308 BCE best fits the need for a Greek-orientated propagandistic historiography was correct.[105]

Greek symbolism certainly seems to be on Ptolemy's mind in this period. In 310 BCE he entered and won the two-horse chariot race for foals at the sixty-ninth Pythian Games at Delphi.[106] The venue of this victory is significant and calculated: Delphi and the Pythian Games had long been an important seat of Boiotian, Thessalian and, in the last 50 years, Macedonian identity.[107] In 346 BCE, Philip II had presided over the Pythian games after the Fourth Sacred War,[108] and we know that Ptolemy had been

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[101] See Seibert 1969, 176–89; Bowsworth 2000; Huß 2001, 166–79; Wheatley 2001b and 2015; Grabowski 2008, 35; Hauben 2014; Meeus 2014.

[102] See Howe 2014 for bibliography and analysis; cf. Łukaszewicz 2012.

[103] Seibert 1969, 180–1; Wheatley 2001b, 14; Wheatley and Dunn 2019, Chapter 8, argue that while both Demetrios and Ptolemy supported the freedom of the Greeks from Kassandros, they were not united in any form of alliance against him. See Bearzot and Landucci Gattinoni 2002, 33–47 for commentary on this passage from the *Suda*.

[104] Bosworth 2000, 220–1.

[105] While 288–286 BCE, the other period when Ptolemy becomes interested in the Aegean, is certainly a candidate, as Hauben 2014, 260 has shown, Ptolemy was not engaged with the Greeks like in 310–08 BCE, opting instead for a form of "defensive imperialism through relative thalassocracy." In any event, 288–6 BCE was a "second pass" at Greece for Ptolemy and as such a bad time for Alexander-centered propaganda. Ptolemy, unlike Alexander, had already been to Aegean Greece and failed (in 309/8)—the time for propaganda and subtlety had passed.

[106] Paus. 10.7.8. See Van Bremen 2007, 373. Unfortunately, Remijsen 2009, which also treats this subject, is riddled with errors of fact and evidence (e.g., confusing Ptolemy's Delphic victory with a win at Olympia) and as a result is unreliable.

[107] See Howe 2003.

[108] See Buckler 1989 for analysis and references.

working up propaganda for some time asserting that he was an illegitimate son of Philip. What better way to show that he, rather than Kassandros (or Demetrios) should rule the Greeks and Macedonians than revisiting some of Philip's triumphs.[109] Winning honors at Delphi brings Ptolemy to the attention of elites in Central Greece, as does his sponsoring the rebuilding of Thebes,[110] all of which should be seen as attempts to undermine Kassandros' control in the region and raise Ptolemy's visibility.[111] As Hauben 2014, 259, argues, this is Ptolemy's moment to claim Macedon, Greece, and Asia Minor; he is in negotiations with Rhodes, Athens, Thebes and even Alexander's sister Kleopatra, whom he plans to marry, and he has "released" the Will of Alexander.[112]

But when did he have the time, as Worthington so aptly put it, to write a long detailed-orientated military history of Alexander's campaign? 309/8 BCE is a good candidate. While awaiting the birth of his son on the island of Kos,[113] Ptolemy had time and the incentive to write – his military actions were over and he was currently waiting while negotiations with elites in coastal Asia Minor, Greece, the Cyclades and Rhodes ran their course.[114] For the first time, Ptolemy is in a place to champion himself as the "true" successor to Alexander. Greece is ready for his rhetoric.

Once the seas have settled in the late spring of 308 BCE, Ptolemy sets off for Greece to make his case in person. Along the way, he visits the sanctuary of Delian Apollo, a god sacred to the Athenians and the Ionian Greeks. Here he offered a golden *kylix* to Aphrodite in thanks for the birth Ptolemy II, dedicating it as "Ptolemy the Macedonian,"[115] a title that Ptolemy continues to use throughout his time in Greece.[116] Perhaps inspired by Ptolemy's use of Macedonia, as well as Ptolemy's propagandistic history of Alexander, the Antigonid historian Marsyas of Pella, brother of Antigonos Monopthalmos, would later write a History of Macedonia in an effort to legitimize his nephew Demetrios' claims to the region.[117]

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[109] See Lianou 2010 and Ogden 2013. Philip had also won an important two-horse victory, on the eve of his son Alexander's birth (Plut. *Alex.* 4.9; and *Mor.* 105a), which Ptolemy's Delphic victory would have recalled.

[110] *Metz Epit.* 120; *SIG*^{3} 337. See Bosworth 2000, 220–1, for discussion.

[111] In this context we should also place Ptolemy's son Lagos' racing victory at the Arcadian Lykaia in 308 (*IG* 5.2.550).

[112] Bosworth 2000; cf. Hauben 2014, 246.

[113] Diod. 20.27; Theokr. *Idyll* 17.58; Kallim. *Hymn* 4.162–99; *Marmor Parium* B19. Bosworth 2000, 214–5; Sickinger 2016.

[114] Bosworth 2000, 230–8; Hauben 2014, 246–52.

[115] Hauben 2014, 252 for references.

[116] The Eleans set up a thank offering at Olympia to him and Demetrios in return for their efforts at freeing the Greeks (Paus. 6.16.3; 6.3.1). Bearzot 1992, 39–40, 53; Fantuzzi 2005, 251 and Kosmetatou 2005 argue that Ptolemy uses Macedonian ethnicity at these important religious centers in an attempt to claim Alexander's empire. Hauben 2014, 249 sees the Elean dedication at Olympia as an example of Ptolemaic and Antigonid cooperation but it may not be that simple. See Wheatley and Dunn 2019, Chapter 13 for a more cautious analysis of Pausanias and full discussion of earlier arguments.

[117] Howe 2018a. Marsyas was active at least to 306 BCE, after which we hear nothing: Wheatley, 2001, 133–56. It is curious that Marsyas' account focused on Macedonian history down to Alexander's invasion of Egypt. It has been assumed that Marsyas ended his *Makedonika* either because he died before his work was completed or, since he had not accompanied Alexander after that year but had remained with Antigonos in Phrygia, he chose not to include Alexander's conquests in his history. I think it likely that he followed the example set

But by far the most important act during Ptolemy's time in Greece occurred at Corinth, where Ptolemy presided over the Panhellenic Isthmian Games of 308 BCE and may have even attempted to resurrect Philip and Alexander's League of Corinth.[118] Certainly his rhetoric in the history regarding kings not lying to their subjects would resonate with the populace assembled for the games and recall the oaths his "Macedonian" predecessors Philip and Alexander had exchanged with the "free Greeks" at Corinth decades earlier.[119] And Corinth, with its Argead symbolism, was just the place to publicize Ptolemy's Alexander History. The Panhellenic Isthmian Games of 308 BCE would allow Ptolemy to emulate Herodotos, the father of Greek history who, by Ptolemy's time, was widely believed to have first published his work by reading it aloud at the Panhellenic Olympic Games.[120] Moreover, later Ptolemies linked Corinth closely to the founder of their dynasty – Ptolemy II displayed Ptolemy I standing next to a statue of the city of Corinth crowned with a golden diadem.[121] Surely, this was to commemorate something greater than a royal visit, even if his father had presided over the Isthmian festival. Besides, by Ptolemy II's time, Ptolemy's 308 BCE visit to Greece was known as a diplomatic and military failure, while his History was a dynastic triumph. Surely, Ptolemy re-enacting Herodotos' first historiographic reading with his own history would warrant the venue, the city of Corinth, being honored with a golden diadem and commemorated in Ptolemaic lore.

And the Isthmian Games would offer Ptolemy the perfect opportunity to present his propagandistic History: men from all over the Greek world would have been in attendance, a somewhat rare event in a society so fragmented and decentralized as Ancient Greece. This particular advantage was significant on two levels: (1) in an age before mass media, there was no better opportunity to get a message to so many places at once – imagine the diverse array of individuals, primed to hear about Alexander's deeds and Ptolemy's own bravery, returning to their homes and sparking each city's desire to support this new "Alexander," who was himself also a Greek historian; and (2) no audience would be so capable of appreciating a story of Hellenic triumph – i.e. Alexander's punishment of Persia – as a Panhellenic audience.

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by Ptolemy and used history as royal propaganda to craft an Antigonid message. As a result, Marsyas largely ignored Alexander and focused primarily on Macedon. It is curious that his history ended with the Macedonian Alexander taking Egypt—perhaps to prepare the way for Demetrios' invasion of Egypt in Egypt in autumn 306 BCE? (Diod. 20.73–6, Plut. *Demetr.* 19.1–3; Paus. 1.6.6; Wheatley 2014). I do not find convincing Heckel's statement (1980, 448) that Marsyas must have lived until 294 and must have written at the end of his life.

[118] So argues Grabowski 2008, 42–3. Ironically, perhaps inspired by Ptolemy's efforts at Corinth as his uncle Marsyas was by Ptolemy's history, Demetrios Poliorketes revived the League. See Wheatley and Dunn 2019, Chapter 14.

[119] Tod no. 177; Diod. 16.89; Just. 9.5.

[120] Although the evidence for Herodotos' *actual* performance at the Olympiad is problematic, and probably spurious, Ptolemy's contemporary Diyllos confirms that the tradition was current in 308 (Plut. *Her. Mal.* 862a-c; Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 37.7). The only detailed source for Herodotos performing at Olympia is Lucian *Herod*. 1–2. See Zelnick-Abramovitz 2014, 178 and especially Oliver 2017, 9–12, 136–141, who argues convincingly, that we accept Lucian's story. Cf. Johnson 1994, 240, 242.

[121] Athen. 5.196a-203b = Kallixeinos of Rhodes *BNJ* 627, F 2, esp. section 33 (201d). See Huß 2001, 177 n. 642 and Keyser 2014 for discussion.

But in the end, it did not work. The Peloponnese did not rise and support Ptolemy and Antigonos had Kleopatra killed (Diod. 20.37.5), quashing Ptolemy's matrimonial hopes and dynastic link to Philip and Alexander. Ptolemy had to make peace with Kassandros (Diod. 20.37.2) and leave Greece and his aspirations for empire behind. And yet, for a brief moment, at the Isthmian Games, everything seemed possible: a king had become an historian and in the process had created a new historiographic genre *imitatio Alexandri*.[122]

Conclusions

In the Hellenistic monarchies of the late 300s we see a new type of Greek kingship emerge, which looks not to the Homeric world, or to the gods, but to the kings of Egypt and Mesopotamia. When Ptolemy took control of Egypt after the death of Alexander, his first priority was making Egypt an independent and secure base – in Egyptian terms he needed to protecting the legacy of his "father" (Alexander), unite the two halves of Egypt, and do and speak Ma'at. Following Egyptian protocol, Ptolemy had to proclaim to the human and divine worlds his actions. And when a powerful individual like Ptolemy I proclaimed something on stone and in public people paid attention. But once a thought has been placed in the ether of public consciousness it became "public" and had begun to work its insidious magic. That is, once Ptolemy made it public to Egyptian and Greek audiences that he was a good and truthful king "like Alexander" and others were not, concepts like "good," "truthful" and the like picked up tangible contexts and, even if answered by counter-propaganda, still existed and still aided in generating that loyalty, submission and omniscience on which charismatic kingship relied. When a king, remote and removed, becomes the focus for a discussion about "proper behavior" rather than just an abstract and removed symbol of royal authority, the audience through which recognition was reflexively produced begins to participate in royal rule. To put it another way, by engaging the reciprocal relationships between ruler and ruled embedded in the Egyptian philosophy of Ma'at (and no doubt inspired by the Argead tradition of *parrhesia*, free speech between the king and his Companions), Ptolemy began to define Hellenistic kingship in a way that invited the various audiences of his message to participate. And whether his fellow Diadochoi liked Ptolemy's conceptions about owning the truth or not, from the moment he began doing and speaking Ma'at, those conceptions entered into the public discourse.

But such literary and iconographic conversations about royal charisma and personal leadership had been happening in Egypt since time began. Royal military and diplomatic historiographical writing was pioneered by the Egyptians and for millennia the Egyptian priests had perfected the genre. As the first Greco-Macedonian king to write history, Ptolemy brought Egyptian literary tools into Greek discourse – in a sense he weaponized historiography in a new way that others, such as Antigonos'

122 Howe forthcoming.

brother Marsyas soon followed. In the end, the fact that Arrian gives Ptolemy's account special weight because Ptolemy is a king and a king would never lie suggests the extent to which Ptolemy had influenced Greek language conversations about kingship and truth.

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